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American

SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

Volume 5

DECEMBER, 1940

Number 6

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Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$6.00 per year. Subscription rates: non-members, \$4.00; libraries, \$3.00; students, \$2.50. Single issues, \$1.00. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States and other countries in the Pan-American Union; extra postage for Canada, twenty-five cents; other countries in the Postal Union, fifty cents.

Address all business communications to the Managing Editor, University of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Changes of address must be requested at least one month in advance. Address all editorial communications to The Editor, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. All unsolicited manuscripts must enclose return postage.

Address all matters pertaining to book reviews to Book Review Editors, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P. L. and R., authorized June 4, 1936.

^{*} Member of the Executive Committee

American

SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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INTERVENING OPPORTUNITIES: A THEORY RELATING MOBILITY AND DISTANCE*

SAMUEL A. STOUFFER University of Chicago

The movement of people in space is a basic subject of sociological inquiry. Since the classic work of Ravenstein a half century ago, numerous studies have demonstrated a close relationship between mobility and distance. Most people go a short distance; few people go a long distance.

Distance is such an important factor that it needs more explicit study than it has received. Whether one is seeking to explain "why" persons go to a particular place to get jobs, "why" they go to trade at a particular store, "why" they go to a particular neighborhood to commit crime, or "why" they marry the particular spouses they choose, the factor of spatial distance is of obvious significance.

Recently, the writer listened to a conversation between two educators who were talking about a survey made on students' reasons for choosing a certain small college. One educator asked the other to guess the most im-

* This study was financed, in part, by the Social Science Research Committee, University of Chicago. Special recognition is owed to the writer's research assistant, Severn Provus, who contributed criticisms and suggestions as well as careful statistical work. Among others, particular acknowledgment is due to Frieda Brim, Robert Winch, Patricia Burt, and Richard Bair, University of Chicago. The present research grew out of a discussion with C. E. Lively, of the University of Missouri, who has been making intensive studies of rural mobility. Preliminary unpublished papers by the writer, which were presented at the 1938 and 1939 annual meetings of the American Sociological Society, have been incorporated in the present paper.

¹ E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," J. Royal Statist. Soc. 48: 167-235, June 1885; 52: 241-305, June 1889. A comprehensive annotated bibliography of modern studies is available in Dorothy S. Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 43, New York, 1938. Studies in which distance appears as an explicit factor are indexed in Thomas' monograph, pages 420-21. An important study, published too late to be listed in the monograph, should be cited: H. Makower, J. Marschak, and H. W. Robinson, "Studies in Mobility of Labor: A Tentative Statistical Measure," Oxford Economic Papers, Oct. 1938; see also two recent articles by the same authors, "Studies in Mobility of Labor: Analysis for Great Britain, Part I," Oxford Economic Papers, May 1939, 70-97, and same title and journal, Part II, Sept. 1940, 39-62.

portant reasons. A half dozen were suggested. "You have missed the most important," was the reply. "It is simply proximity." Yet, in the extensive literature, there has been little effort to analyze the ways in which distance operates to determine the distribution of population movements. Concepts like "push" and "pull" are used frequently, but it is not likely that their analysis can be very fruitful until the distance component in "push" and "pull" is conceptually and empirically isolated. If we say that Chicago has more "pull" on people from Iowa than does New York and that New York has more "pull" on people from Massachusetts than does Chicago, it is clear that we must deal with the distance factor in any analysis of the attraction of the two cities.

This paper seeks to make an addition to sociological theory by proposing a conceptual framework for attacking the problem of distance. The theory is offered as a key which may open at least an outer door, although like any simple abstract theory it may require considerable elaboration and modification if it is to explain a wide variety of actual events. The writer believes that what sociology most needs is basic theories which can be so stated that verification in particular cases is possible. Therefore, painstaking effort has been made to test the theory in a particular case. If other studies confirm the success of this initial effort at verification, we have here a modest formulation of a new sociological law. The ultimate utility of the abstract theory will be determined by the variety and abundance of concrete situations in which it proves helpful in providing at least an initial ordering of thinking and of data. As will be illustrated subsequently, a systematic numerical application is not likely to be easy. Data collected for other purposes may be suitable rarely. Even when quantitative data are inadequate or unavailable, the theory may have its uses in contributing to a logical framework for analyzing tendencies.

The theory here proposed and studied empirically assumes that there is no necessary relationship between mobility and distance. Instead, it introduces the concept of intervening opportunities. It proposes that the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities. Another way of stating the same hypothesis is that the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the percentage increase in opportunities at that distance. Symbolically, let

 Δy = the number of persons moving from an origin to a circular band of width Δs , its inner boundary being $s-1/2\Delta s$ units of distance from the origin or center of the circle and its outer boundary being $s+1/2\Delta s$ units from the origin. (Distance may be measured in units of space, or even of time or cost).

x = the number of intervening opportunities, that is, the cumulated number of opportunities between the origin and distance s. (Opportunities must be precisely defined in any employment of the theory. The particular operational definition appropriate will depend on the type of social situation investigated. This is the

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hardest problem in any practical application. In the main body of the paper, a precise definition, appropriate to the concrete study here made, is developed.)

 Δx = the number of opportunities within the band of width Δs .

Then, we postulate

$$\frac{\Delta y}{\Delta s} = \frac{a}{x} \frac{\Delta x}{\Delta s} \tag{1}$$

This mathematical formulation has the virtue of precision and, with the aid of operational definitions of distance and opportunities, lends itself to verification. Actually, it merely says in symbols what is said more picturesquely and less precisely in the statement: A basic concept in handling movement and distance is the ratio of opportunities in the promised land to the intervening opportunities.

The main part of this paper is devoted to a verification of Equation 1 in a particular case. Before proceeding, however, some consideration of its implications may be desirable. Equation I does not specify a direct and invariant relation between mobility and distance. Rather it postulates a direct relation between mobility and opportunities. The relation between mobility and distance may be said to depend on an auxiliary relationship, which expresses the cumulated (intervening) opportunities as a function of distance. This latter relationship may take any form, subject, of course, to the intrinsic limitation that it never decreases with increasing distance. It is not necessary to assume that it is a continuous function. Actually, the distribution of opportunities over space is the result of a multitude of historical, geographic, economic, political, and social factors and will vary from situation to situation. The distribution of opportunities in farming would radiate from an Indiana township quite differently from the way in which it would from a Texas township. The distribution of opportunities for stenographers or nurses would be different from the distribution of opportunities for unskilled laborers or Negro sharecroppers. If the theory embodied in Equation 1 holds, we should eventually be able to account for some of the observed differentials in the distance moved by members of different types of occupational groups, perhaps by sex and age. It is to be hoped that the new mobility data collected by the 1940 United States Census will be helpful in such a future investigation. Even where full numerical data are missing, the abstract theory presented here should, if it stands up under further research, serve to provide a cue for predicting the tendency of different types of specific population groups to assume certain types of spatial patterns in their mobility. Equation I, as formulated, also has some interesting mathematical and psychological implications.2

$$x = f(s) \tag{2}$$

³ If we assume the existence of some continuous function

Test of Theory on Cleveland Residential Mobility Data. We now proceed to a direct empirical investigation of Equation 1. The data selected are data on residential mobility in Cleveland, Ohio.³ They are probably unique in the United States in their detail. Each year, for the three years 1933-35, Howard Whipple Green obtained the addresses of all families moving within the Cleveland Metropolitan District. In a table, containing 321 × 321 cells, he tabulated the number of families moving from each census tract to every other census tract.

If Equation 1 holds, and if we can control enough disturbing factors, we should be able to use Green's data as a test of the theory of intervening op-

$$\frac{dy}{ds} = \frac{a}{x} \frac{dx}{ds} \tag{3}$$

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we have, upon substituting (2) in (3) and integrating,

$$y = a \log f(s) + c \tag{4}$$

Equation 4 enables one to formulate the theory in somewhat different words. It will be understood that in Equation 4, y is the cumulated number of movers between the origin and a circle of radius s, and that f(s) is the cumulated number of opportunities within that circle. Thus Equation 4 says that the total number of movers who stop at any point within the circle is directly proportional to the logarithm of the number of opportunities within the circle.

It may be asked why Equations 1 or 3 could not have been set up in such a form that Equation 4 would show the total number who stop at any point within the circle to be some function, other than the logarithm, of the number of opportunities within the circle. The answer is, of course, that this could have been done. However, there is at least some good common sense basis for the type of equation chosen, apart from its great virtue of simplicity. It is unlikely that a person will have the same detailed knowledge of each far distant opportunity that he has of the nearby opportunities. Let us call the opportunities of which he is aware, apparent opportunities, and denote them by the symbol z_i in contrast with x_i the actual opportunities. Let us then postulate that y_i , the number of persons who will move somewhere within distance s_i , is directly proportional to z_i , the number of apparent opportunities within the distance s_i . We now have

$$y_i = kz_i \tag{5}$$

But z_i is some function of x_i , such that as x_i increases, z_i increases more slowly. If we were dealing here with a simple problem in perception, the relationship between z_i and x_i , the apparent and actual number of opportunities, could be represented by the equation

$$z_i = m \log x_i + c' \tag{6}$$

the well-known Fechner law. This would be too simple a postulate to represent the actual sociopsychological situation. There is good reason to suspect, however, that the net effects of the complex actual factors, whatever they may be, would produce an equation closely analogous to Equation 6. It is unlikely that data exist at the present time enabling one to test a hypothesis involving an equation containing more parameters than those in Equation 6. Hence, there is no hesitation, as a first approximation, in substituting (6) in (5) and obtaining (4).

One further implication of Equation 4 may be noted. In an ideal special case, in which opportunities are distributed continuously throughout an area with a distribution function $x=ks^b$, Equation 4 would take the form

$$y = a' \log s + c' \tag{7}$$

This special case would be, as indicated, an ideal situation, probably never realized in experience, except possibly within a very short distance from the center of out-movement.

³ H. W. Green, Movements of Families Within the Cleveland Metropolitan District, Report No. 7 of the Real Property Inventory of the Metropolitan District, Cleveland, Ohio, 1936.

portunities, as applied to residential mobility in one metropolitan city. Specifically, we should be able to distribute theoretically the families moving from dwellings within a given census tract to their places of future dwelling within the Cleveland Metropolitan District, and this expected spatial distribution should tend to agree with observations.

First, we report the results of applying Equation 1 to the movers from twelve census tracts inhabited by white persons. Of these tracts, seven are on the west side of Cleveland, five on the east side.

Chart I-a based on Table I, summarizes the expected and actual frequency distribution of all moves according to distance from the twelve tracts combined, during the three-year period. A more detailed discussion will be given later. The open circles connected by a dotted line represent the theoretical distribution, predicted by Equation I; the black circles connected by a solid line the actual distribution. In general, it will be seen that the theory of intervening opportunities represented in Equation I agrees closely enough with observation to be encouraging. Many of the discrepancies are too large to attribute to chance, but a closer fit hardly would be expected, in view of the assumptions and approximations, presently to be discussed, which were involved in the processing of the data.

Chart I-b uses the same data, but presents the results in different form. Here we have a cumulative distribution of families moving. On the vertical axis is plotted the number moving a given distance or less. On the horizontal axis is plotted the logarithm of the distance. As in Chart I-a, the expected numbers are shown by open circles and dotted lines, the observed, by black circles and solid lines.

Chart I-b portrays, as does Chart I-a, the general agreement between theory and observation, but it reveals more adequately an interesting discrepancy in the early middle distances. This discrepancy, as will be pointed out in more detail later, reflects the effect of a directional factor in the movement which could be only partly taken into account with the available data. In general, the excess movements to middle distances represent movements toward the edge of the city, westward if the tract lay west of the business section, eastward if the tract lay east of the business section. The long distances represent movements across the city to the edges on the opposite side, and such movements, except at the most extreme distances, were slightly less numerous than were predicted.⁴

⁴ Chart 1-b is also of interest as showing how the theory based on Equation 1 and the observations agree in their uniform departure from what we postulated would have been the distribution in the ideal case represented by Equation 7 (footnote 3). If the opportunities actually had been homogeneously distributed, the data in Chart 1-b should have formed a logarithmic straight line $(y=a'\log s+c)$. Both lines clearly curve, reflecting the fact that the empirical distribution of cumulated opportunities increased rapidly in the early and middle distances and then, with considerable abruptness, began to slow up, eventually becoming asymptotic.

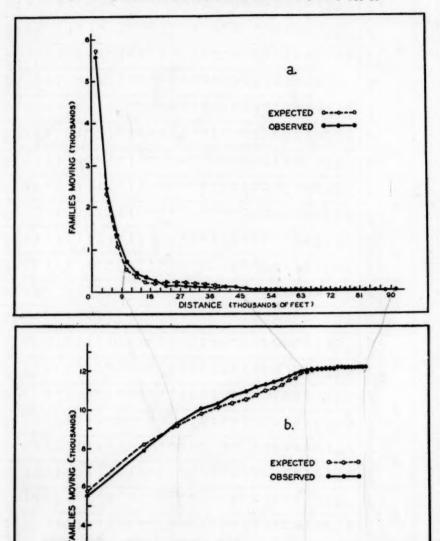
A more detailed graphic comparison of the agreement between expectation and observation appears in Chart 2. Here, for each of the twelve census tracts, the expected number of families moving within a given distance band is plotted on the x-axis and the observed number on the y-axis. The data are taken from Table 2. If the theory represented by Equation 1 predicted the observations perfectly, the data would all lie on the diagonal. For example, we predict that 431 families will move within a distance of 3000 feet from their home in A2. The observed number is 440.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF FAMILIES MOVING FROM LOCATIONS WITHIN TWELVE WHITE CENSUS TRACTS, BY INTERVALS OF DISTANCE. COMPARISON OF EXPECTATION, FROM EQUATION 1, WITH ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION, CLEVELAND, OHIO, 1933-35

Distance in Thousands of Feet	Expected	Observed	Distance in Thousands of Feet	Expected	Observed
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
0-2.9	5834	5585	48-50.9	57	30
3- 5.9	2332	2471	51-53.9	46	39
6-8.9	1065	1313	54-56.9	39	31
9-11.9	563	737	57-59.9	27	17
12-14.9	355	431	60-62.9	17	12
15-17.9	217	320	63-65.9	8 6 6	5
18-20.9	214	217	66-68.9	6	3
21-23.9	223	178	69-71.9	6	4
24-26.9	204	172	72-74.9	7	4
27-29.9	207	125	75-77.9	1	2
30-32.9	196	137	78-80.9	-	2
33-35.9	175	106	81-83.9	-	2
36-38.9	157	85	84-86.9	-	2
39-41.9	133	102	87-89.9	_	
42-44.9	111	102	90-92.9	-	1
45-47-9	78	57	Total	12,278	12,292

It was thought that a particularly interesting test of the theory would be provided by applying it to Negro tracts because of the barriers erected against free mobility. Therefore, ten tracts extending through the heart of the Black Belt were chosen and an effort made to predict the intratract and intertract movements by Equation 1. The results are shown in Chart 3, the data appearing in Table 3. As in Chart 2, the observed data are plotted against the actual data and perfect agreement would be represented by all points lying on the diagonal. For example, we predict that in Table 3, 70 would leave Tract H9 for Tract M8. Actually, the observed number was 65. As we inspect Chart 3, we see, as in the white tracts, a rather satisfactory agreement. The tracts nearer the center of the city, such as H9, I7, and I8, tended to receive slightly less in-movers than expected and the tracts farther from the center of the city, such as M3, M4 and M5, slightly more,

CHART I. NUMBER OF FAMILIES MOVING FROM LOCATIONS WITHIN TWELVE WHITE CENSUS TRACTS, BY INTERVALS OF DISTANCE. COMPARISON OF EXPECTATION, FROM EQUATION I, WITH ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION. CLEVELAND, OHIO, 1933-35.1



¹ The data in Chart 1-a are taken from Table 1. Chart 1-b is a cumulated distribution of the data in Chart 1-a, with distance in logarithmic measure.

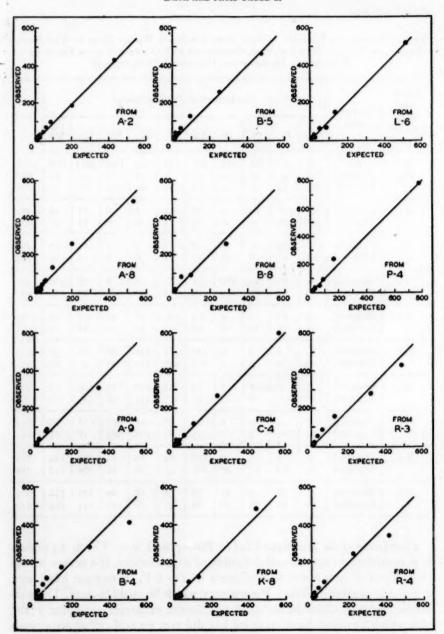
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF FAMILIES FROM LOCATIONS WITHIN EACH OF TWELVE WHITE CENSUS TRACTS, BY INTERVALS OF DISTANCE. COMPARISON OF EXPECTATION FROM EQUATION 1, WITH ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION. CLEVELAND, OHIO, 1933-35.

Exp.			00	A9	6	B4	_	BS		B8		3		K8		P 7		P4		R3	3	R4	
-	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.
	(3)	3		(9)	(2)	(8)	6	(01)		(12)	(13)	(14)	(51)	(91)	(17)	(81)	(61)	(30)	(21)			(24)	(25)
_	440	513		349	311	808	410	485		288	253	572	609	452	483	528	536	793	784			424	351
6	187	194		9	78	396	280	253		86	92	242	260	125	122	146	153	172	250			229	246
0	16	88		64	81	141	173	16		46	84	105	120	77	94	98	74	87	97			70	93
4	73	54		25	40	99	112	43		15	22	65	98	27	27	15	99	73	52			9	89
+	80	35		21	21	47	77	30		6	15	32	38	29	18	28	23	28	33			91	22
9	30	13		7	17	22	80	12		15	22	24	37	19	6	56	27	23	18			13	32
7	19	19	17	11	13	21	49	91	13	15	17	36	21	17	00	22	14	61	91	21	22	IO	00
2	27	18		14	00	13	18	24		11	11	34	14	25	13	22	13	15	15			13	19
6	14	36	14	13	10	12	21	22		14	00	30	36	18	11	II	14	22	23			00	9
33	19	17		91	00	91	11	28		13	13	33	17	17	14	IO	4	17	14			6	8
1	30	29		13	9	17	23	24		6	3	31	21	00	12	00	7	22	64			S	+
1	9	56		6	9	36	15	23		9	4	21	12	9	4	9	4	13	7			5	00
0	00	19	6	11	7	27	12	15		2	3	21	10	2	9	7	10	12	ч			9	4
00	14	18		7	3	28	21	14		ct	-	14	14	9	9	7	00	9	00			00	7
S	13	13		9	10	19	10	12		-	64	7	00	3	2	00	00	12	00			4	4
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1	1	4	1	1	1	1		cı	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	4	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100	1			1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	I	1	1	1	H	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	int	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	=	1	1	1	1	1	-
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	H
1032	1034	1114	1113	633	634	1316	1316	9111	1118	551	552	1274	1273	843	845	066	166	1345	1349	1111	1172	893	895

CHART 2. Number of Families Moving from Locations within Each of Twelve White Census Tracts, by Intervals of Distance. Comparison of Expectation, from Equation 1, with Actual Distribution. Cleveland, Ohio, 1933–35.

Data are from Table 2.



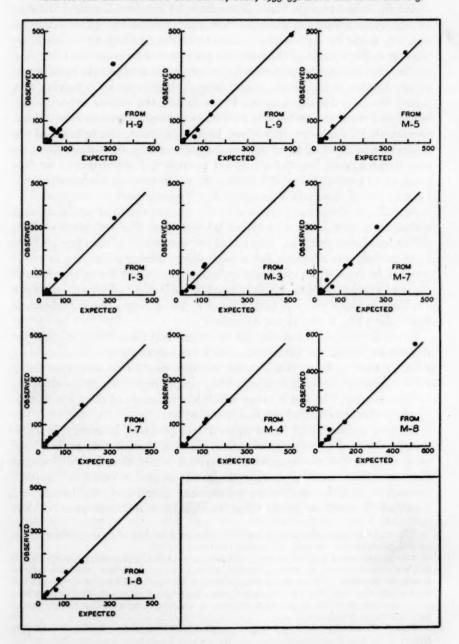
indicating, as in the white tracts, the operation of a directional factor which data and technique did not permit taking fully into account. The general pattern of agreement between expectation and observation is, however, unmistakable.

Table 3. Number of Families Moving from Locations Within Each of Ten Negro Tracts, by Tract of New Location. Comparison of Expectation, from Equation 1
With Actual Distribution, Cleveland, Ohio, 1933-35

Tracts from which	Compari-			Tr	acts to	which	Famil	ies Mo	oved			Total
Families Moved	sons	Н9	13	17	18	L9	M ₃	M ₄	M ₅	M ₇	M8	Total
(1) H9	(2) Observed Expected	(3) 351 303	(4) 49 54	(5) 52 45	(6) 62 40	(7) 50 54	(8) 9 25	(9) 11	(10) 7 11	(11) 32 75	(12) 65 70	(13) 688 688
13	Observed Expected	93 88	336 310	69 59	21 22	16 25	13	9	6	10 23	18 33	584 584
17	Observed Expected	68 68	60 62	191	45 43	11	3 12	3 6	5 6	12 14	27 25	425 425
18	Observed Expected	94 78	26 23	49 69	169 174	22 24	15	4 6	8	28 28	120	535 534
L9	Observed Expected	32 59	12	4 13	5 16	489 487	189	50 31	48 32	123	52 72	1004
М3	Observed Expected	14 23	2 9	1 9	4 9	132 117	481 499	131	96 53	38 48	34 52	933 933
M ₄	Observed Expected	5	3 7	6	1 5	45 31	121	208	119	9	13	525 526
M5	Observed Expected	7 14	3	- 5	6	26 37	77 65	111	407 383	11	12 24	655 654
M ₇	Observed Expected	37 69	5	10	7 23	118	6 ₄ 43	19	19	300 264	134	713 714
M8	Observed Expected	51 61	18	9 21	42 58	82 66	36 47	18	29 17	132 143	552 519	969 970

Description of the Technique Used in Testing the Theory. The first problem is to formulate an operational definition of opportunities. If a person moves from Tract X to a house or apartment in Tract Y, there must have been previously created in Tract Y a vacancy which he could occupy. The particular vacancy which he occupied and similar vacancies anywhere in the city which he might have occupied but did not, we will call opportunities.

CHART 3. Number of Families Moving from Locations within Each of Ten Negro Tracts, to Other Negro Tracts. Comparison of Expectation, from Equation 1, with Actual Distribution. Cleveland, Ohio, 1933-35. Data are from Table 3.



Similar vacancies which are closer to his former residence in X than the dwelling he occupied in Y, we shall call *intervening opportunities*.

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But this is not enough. What do we mean by similar vacancies? Since no two vacancies are exactly alike, we must select certain relevant characteristics. One might be the economic character of the dwelling, as measured by the rental. For example, if he pays \$50 per month for his new dwelling, the similar opportunities would be limited to vacancies at about the same rental value. Another characteristic might depend on whether he is moving to a rented home or buying a home. If the latter, the similar opportunities would be limited to purchasable residences at about the same value. Other characteristics might be determined by the direction, the newness of the neighborhood to which he moved, or the nationality composition. Thus, an area zoned against Negroes would not provide any opportunities for Negroes, or an area settled solidly by Italians would provide few opportunities for members of other ethnic groups, unless it were an area in transition.

Actually, in the present study only two of the criteria of similarity suggested have been used, namely, rental and race. The following working definition of opportunities, determined by restrictions of data presently to be discussed, was adopted: For a white family leaving a dwelling in rental group K in Tract X, the number of opportunities in Tract Y is proportional to the total number of white families, whatever their place of origin, moving to dwellings in rental group K within Tract Y. For a Negro family, substitute Negro for white in the above definition.

Even the necessary information on rental and race, however, was not directly available. The Cleveland data do not report the new rental paid by a family moving from A2 to A1, for example. Nor do the data report any other characteristics of this family. They simply report the total number of families moving. The first problem which had to be solved then, was how to infer the characteristics of the family indirectly.

Another publication,⁷ based upon a real property inventory in 1934, opened the road to an approximation. First, it showed that such a large proportion of the movement was to rented homes that for all practical purposes movements to newly purchased residences could be ignored. Second, it gave for each tract a frequency distribution by broad class intervals of rental of the dwellings occupied less than one year by their

⁵ In studying some other kind of mobility, different definitions of opportunities would be needed, of course; for example, job openings or farms available.

⁶ At first glance, this definition may seem to favor the hypothesis unduly; actually, it does not because it says nothing about the origin of those moving. It simply postulates that the number of opportunities in an area is proportionate to the number of families moving to dwellings within the area. These families merely may have moved from next door or may have come long distances. The theory then attempts to account for the number moving from a particular origin to this area.

⁷ H. W. Green, Standards of Living in the Cleveland Metropolitan District, Special 1935 Report of the Real Property Inventory of Metropolitan Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio, 1935.

tenants. This could be converted into a percentage distribution as in illustrative Table 4. The total number of people moving to tract A1 at any time in the three-year period, namely, 2975, was assumed to be distributed, by rental, in the same proportions. Similar calculations were made for A2 and for all other tracts.

From Table 4, we estimate, for example, that in the three-year period, 565 families moved to locations within A1, renting at \$50 to \$74. It is evi-

TABLE 4. DATA FOR TWO CENSUS TRACTS TO ILLUSTRATE METHOD OF ALLOCATING THE OBSERVED DATA TO RENTAL GROUPS

					Rental				
Items	Tract	Under \$10	\$10 to \$14	\$15 to \$19	\$20 to \$29	\$30 to \$49	\$50 to \$74	\$75 and over	Total
(1) Percentage distribu-	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
tion of rented homes occupied less than one year (1934)	A1 A2	.2	6.9	3.8 15.6	19.6 42.6	52.4 33.9	19.0	4.7	100.0
Number of families moving to Census Tract (1933-35)	A1 A2	(—) ¹ (2)	(15) (85)	(113)	(583) (522)	(1559) (415)	(565)	(140) (—)	2975 1225
Number of families moving from Census Tract (1933-35)	A2	(2)	(71)	(161)	(441)	(351)	(8)	(—)	1034

¹ Figures in parentheses are estimates, made by applying percentages in the first two rows to observed totals. Thus, $.038\times2975=113$, $.069\times1225=85$, $.069\times1034=71$. For source, see text.

dent, however, that these vacancies could not constitute opportunities for many movers from A2, since only ten of the dwellings vacated by residents of A2 and reoccupied, rented for \$50 to \$74. Unless those vacating dwellings in A2 stepped up decidedly in rental, there could have been almost no movement from A2 to the \$50 to \$74 dwellings in A1. Since the higher rental tracts as a whole did not gain by migration appreciably more than the lower rental tracts, and vice versa, it is probable that the change in economic conditions between 1933 and 1935 was not marked by any substantial average movement upward or downward in the rental scale.8

^{*} From tracts with 1930 median rental under \$40, 23,251 families moved out and 25,446 families moved in at some time during 1933-35. From tracts with median rental over \$40, 27,115 families moved out and 30,834 families moved in. (Computed from data in Movements of Families Within the Cleveland Metropolitan District; op. cit., p. 4). Objection may be raised that the procedure employed would not be applicable if there were great upward mobility, that is, if most movers shifted to better homes; or vice versa. However, a numerical adjustment could have been made with relative ease to take care of this situation. The application of the theory is not limited to a relatively static economic time interval.

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Therefore, we can simplify our task if we divide the families leaving A2 into separate economic strata and conceive each group as moving, on the average, within its own respective stratum. Actually, 1034 families moved out from dwellings inside of A2. We assume that, on the average, they were distributed in new dwellings in the same rental groups as the newcomers replacing them in A2. Thus if, from Table 4, 15.6 percent of the newcomers to A2 occupied homes renting from \$15 to \$19, we assume that 15.6 percent of the 1034 families leaving a location in A2, or 161 families, moved into homes renting from \$15 to \$19. In other words, we define, for each of these 161 families, "opportunities" as constituting those available dwellings anywhere in the Cleveland Metropolitan District which had rented within the past year for \$15 to \$19. From Table 4, column 5, we see that there were 113 such opportunities in A1. By extending Table 4 to include all tracts in the city, it was possible to estimate the number of opportunities, corresponding to 113 in A1, in each tract.

The next step was to construct a spot map of Cleveland on which all opportunities in the rental group \$15 to \$19 were recorded. This step introduced another major problem in procedure, in addition to the inferring of the characteristics of the family by the above indirect means. We did not have the exact addresses of these dwellings. Therefore their approximate location within a tract had to be estimated. This was done with the aid of maps giving assessed valuations for the Cleveland Metropolitan District,9 and with the generous assistance of Robert Winch, a graduate student at the University of Chicago. He also is a resident of Cleveland and knows the city well. For each rental group, a spot map was made of the Cleveland Metropolitan District, by census tracts, the dots being located as accurately as possible on the basis of the above knowledge. It was found by empirical test that errors in the spotting of dwellings or "opportunities" would not appreciably affect the results when considered in relation to a tract of outmovement which was at a distance of over a mile or two. However, when the tract of out-movement considered was one close to the tract providing the opportunities, small changes in the location of the dots made relatively greater difference. In the latter case, plotting errors were minimized if the tracts were small and densely populated, but errors were probably larger in sparsely populated tracts, due to the difficulty in accurately centering the dots.

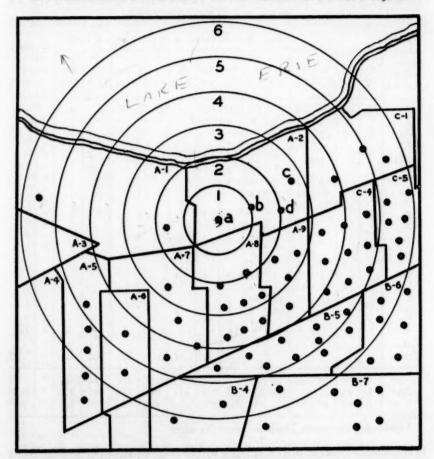
To reduce the subsequent labor (which required several months of clerical work), class intervals were used in spotting. Thus, in the rental group \$15 to \$19, one dot represented fifty opportunities, except in tracts far distant from those selected for out-movement investigation. In the dis-

⁹ The Principles of Land and Building Appraisals as Scientifically Applied in Cuyahoga County, published in 1932 by the Board of County Commissioners, Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

tant tracts, a number was entered to represent the number of dots which might have been plotted.

Imagine then a spot map of the Cleveland Metropolitan District showing the opportunities available within each tract at rental \$15 to \$19. The next step may be understood by reference to Chart 4, which reproduces a very

CHART 4. SEGMENT OF MAP OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, WITH DOTS AND CIRCLES TO ILLUSTRATE METHOD OF CALCULATING THE DISTRIBUTION OF "OPPORTUNITIES." SEE Pp. 858–62



small segment of this map surrounding Tract A2. This map is drawn to the same scale as Green's map of Cleveland.¹⁰ Consider the dot in A2 here labeled a. A sheet of transparent paper, ruled in concentric circles, was laid on the map, with the center of the circles at a. The intervals between the

¹⁶ H. W. Green, Census Tracts of Greater Cleveland, map published by Cleveland Health Council.

circles represent 1000 feet on Green's map. We now count the number of dots lying within one interval of a, two intervals, three intervals, etc., and record the tract in which they lie. For example, for a family leaving a dwelling in the region of spot a, there was one (times 50, of course) opportunity

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Table 5. Section of Work Sheet Illustrating Method of Tabulating Opportunities Available to Movers from \$15 to \$19 Locations Within Tract A2

(The entry 1, opposite A1 in column headed 1-1.9 means that the opportunities in A1 at this distance from A2 were 1 (times 50).)

Tract in which	-			1	Dista	nce fi	rom I	ocati	on in	A2 (th	ousand	ls of fe	eet)		
Oppor- tunity Occurred	.9	1-	2-2.9	3- 3-9	4-4-9	5-	6.9	7-7-9	8- 8.9	9- 11.9	12-	15-	18-20.9		78- 80.9
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)		(15)
Aı		I	1	1	1	I	I	2	-					*	
A2	8	5	3											*	
A3	10						6	6	5	4		-			
A ₅					1	3			3	1		1			
A6					I	3	3	1							
A7			1	3	7	4	1								
A8		1	11	14	5	1									
A9		3	10	3					-						
B ₄						8	4	5	4	2					
B ₅ B ₆				2	29	-	1			-					
Do Do					0	14	15	4	I						
B ₇ C ₁ C ₂		2	2			4	12	9	3		- 4				
Ca		2	2	5	2		2	1	1						
C		2	11	16	6	3	2		1						
C ₄ C ₅ C ₆		-	**	10	15	IO									
C6				10	13	8	5 8	6		1					
C8				1	1		8	10	6						
*	*					5				.3					
Other			1												
Tracts							2	20	48	140	124	60	44	*	8
Δχ	8	14	39	54	75	67	71	68	75	151	124	60	44		8
$\Sigma \Delta x$	8	22		115	190	257	328	396	471	622	746	806	850		3006
x	4	15	42	88	153	224	293	362	434	547	684	776	828	*	3002

^{*} Omitted to save space. This is an illustrative table.

in the first interval of distance, lying within $A2;^{11}$ three opportunities in the second interval of distance, of which one was in A2, one in A1, and one in A8; ten opportunities in the third interval, of which two were in A2, one in A1, four in A8, and three in A9, and similarly for other intervals of distance. When these data were recorded, the map was shifted to center the circles at dot b, and similarly at c and d.

¹¹ For each family in the neighborhood of dot a, there would be fifty opportunities, or possibly more strictly, 50-1=49.

Upon adding the data for a, b, c, and d, a table similar to illustrative Table 5 was constructed. The sum of the columns gives Δx for this rental group, where Δx is proportional to the number of opportunities within a

Table 6. Section of Work Sheet Illustrating Method of Applying Equation 1 to the Data in Table 5

(The procedure is to redistribute $100 \frac{\Delta w}{x}$ from Table 5 within each column in the same proportion as individual cell entries in Table 5 bear to Δx . The final column (17) is the expected numbers leaving a location within A2 for each specified new location within rental group \$15 to \$19.)

Tract in which				Dist	anc	e fro	m L	ocat	tion i	n A2	(thou	sand	s of f	eet)		
Oppor- tunity Occurred	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10-	13-	16- 18	19-	*	78- 80.9	To- tal	Adjusted Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)		(15)	(16)	(17)
Aı	1	7	2	1	1			1				-		*		12	3
A ₂	200	33	7											*		240	51
A ₃		-	1				1	1	1	1	1			*		4	1
A5					1	1	2	2	1					*		7	1
A6					1	1	1							*		3	1
A7			2	3	5	2								*		12	3
A8		7	26	16	3		1							*		52	11
A9		20	24	3								. 2.		*		47	10
B4							1	1	1					*		3	1
B5				2	19	4								*		25	5
B6	5				4	6	5	1						*		16	3
B ₇				1		2	4	2	I					*		9	2
Cı		13	5	6	1									*		25	5
C ₂					1	1	1		- 1					*		3	1
C ₄		13	26	18	4					11				*		61	13
C ₄ C ₅ C ₆				11	10	4	2							*		27	6
C6					1	4	3	2	1					*		11	2
C8						2	3	3	I.	1				*		10	2
	*	*	*	*	*	*		*		*	*	*	*	*	*		
Other					12												
Tracts							1	6	11	26	18	8	5	*	0	1971	421
$100\frac{\Delta x}{x}$	200	93	93	61	49	30	24	19	17	28	18	8	5	*	0	764	163²

^{*} Omitted to save space.

given distance band. The values of Δx were cumulated and x, the intervening opportunities, determined by linear interpolation on the cumulative distribution. Thus, x_2 at the second interval of distance $=x_1+(1/2)(\Delta x_2)$ =8+(1/2)(14)=15.

Actually, separate figures were calculated for tracts, within each interval of distance.

² From illustrative Table 4, the number leaving a location within Tract A2 for locations renting at \$15 to \$19 is estimated at 161. The discrepancy between 163 and 161 is due to rounding. The figures in column (17) were obtained by multiplying those in column (16) by 161/764.

Next we calculate the ratios $\Delta x/x$ which appear on the bottom row of illustrative Table 6. In Equation 1, it will be remembered $\Delta x/x$ represents the ratio of opportunities in a given distance band to the intervening opportunities. (Actually, 100 $\Delta x/x$ was calculated, to avoid decimals.) Each of these ratios was then broken down and distributed among the various tracts in the same proportions as the opportunities in each tract (as shown in Table 5). In the third column of Table 5, for example, 1/14 of the opportunities were in A1. In Table 6 in the third column of the row opposite AI, therefore, we enter $(1/14)(100 \Delta x/x) = (1/14)(93) = 7$. When we add across the rows, we have for each tract an expected number of movers to it from all points in A2 which should be proportional to the actual number. For example, the sum for AI is 12. Such sums are shown in the next to last column of Table 6 and have a total of 764. But the total in rental group \$15 to \$19 who left a dwelling in A2 we estimated earlier (Table 4) at 161 families. Therefore, by multiplying the individual values in the next to last column by 161/764, we have our expectation of the number who left Tract A2 for all tracts in the metropolitan area. The ratio 161/764 is a, the constant of proportionality, in Equation 1.

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We still cannot check these numbers against observation, because, it will be remembered, our observations of families actually moving from A2 to, say, A1, are not broken down by rental groups. Therefore, we repeat for all other rental groups the procedure described above with respect to rental group \$15 to \$19. Then we form Table 7. The third column of numbers in this table, it will be observed, is the same as the last column of Table 6 and the other columns are analogous for other rental groups. Adding the entries in a given row, we have a sum which represents the expected number moving from all points within A2 to the tract represented in that row. This sum is entered in the next to last column of Table 7 and the observed number is entered in the last column. For example, to Tract A1, we estimated that 3 families would go in rental groups \$15 to \$19, 13 in group \$20 to \$29, and 41 in group \$30 to \$49. Total, 57; actually, 70 went. To points within Tract A2 itself, we estimated that 329 would go; the actual number was 373.

Because of the crudities of the procedure, particularly the errors introduced by the use of broad class intervals and arbitrary spotting, there is bound to be considerable inaccuracy in predicting the movement to individual tracts. If more detailed data had been accessible, many of these errors might have been avoided. Therefore, it is preferable to make a final grouping of tracts into broader intervals. This was done by taking intervals of 3000 feet and assigning each tract in its entirety to that interval of distance from A2 in which the majority of the opportunities occurred. Thus, A8 and A9, as well as A2 itself, fall in the first interval, A1, A7, B5, C1, C4, and C5 in the second interval, etc. The sum of the expectations in the first interval is 431; of the observations, 440. The sum of the expectations in the second interval is 199; of the observations, 187.

These are the data appearing in Table 2 and Chart 2 for movements from each of the twelve white tracts studied. Table 1 is formed by summing Table 2 for each interval of distance.

Table 7. Section of Consolidation Sheet Illustrating Method of Combining Estimates from Last Column of Work Sheets Like Table 6 to Obtain Final Estimate of Number of Families Leaving a Location Within A-2 to Other Locations

Tract of	Expec	ted Number by Ren	of Families I	Moving,	Expected Number	Observed Number
Destination	\$10-14	\$15-19	\$20-29	\$30-49	of Families Moving	of Families Moving
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Aı	-	3	13	41	57	70
A ₂	24	51	141	f13	329	373
A3	24 	1	5	7 6	13	31
A ₅	_	1	7	6	14	28
A6	_	1	4	2	7	15
A7		3	13	9	25	22
A8	3	11	25	17	56	47
A9	3	10	22		42	18
B ₄	-	1	9	7 5 3	15	10
B5	2	5	8	3	18	8
B6	2	3	3		8	3
B ₇	1	2	4	= ,	7	2
Cı	2	5	9	5	21	37
C2	_	1	I	-	2	3
C ₄	9	13	28	6	56	43
C ₅ C ₆	9 3 2	6	8	3 2	20	7
C6	2	2	3	2	9	4
C8	I	2	2	_	5	1
To Other						
Tracts1	19	42	137	130	328	312
Expected	71	163	442	356	1032	_
Observed ²	733	161	441	3594	_	1034

Actually, separate figures were calculated for tracts within each interval of distance.

² The total of the observed, 1034, is known. See Table 4. The distribution of the observed, by rental, is estimated by the procedure illustrated in Table 4.

3 Includes two families from rental <\$10.

4 Includes eight families from rental \$50-74.

Actually, one other restriction was made in the operational definition of opportunities as described above. Since, except in a few transitional census tracts, a dwelling vacated by a Negro would not be sought by a white person and vice versa, it was necessary to make separate estimates of opportunities for Negroes and whites. In the absence of direct information on mobility by race, an indirect method was required. This method is illustrated in Table 8, for Tract M4. First, the percentage of Negroes living in each rental group (for rented homes only) was calculated from data in the Real Property Inventory. In rental group \$20 to \$29, for example, the per-

centage was 91.5. Second, the percentage in each rental group reported as living in rented homes less than one year was arbitrarily divided into white and Negro by multiplying by this percentage. In Table 8, the percentage 27.6 (column 6) on the second line was multiplied by .915, giving new percentages, 2.3 for whites, and 25.3 for Negroes, which were entered on the third and fourth lines, respectively. From the mobility volume, as in il-

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Table 8. Data to Illustrate Method of Allocating Observed Data by Race, According to Rental, for Census Tract M4

7				Rental			
Items	Lines	Under \$10	\$10 to \$14	\$15 to \$19	\$20 to \$29	\$30 to \$49	Total
(1) Percentage of Negro Families	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Among Families Living in Rented Homes (1934)	(1)	77-4	86.4	86.2	91.5	91.5	-
Percentage Distribution of Rented Homes Occupied Less than 1 year (1934) Total Whites (Estimated) Negroes (Estimated)	(2) (3) (4)	5.9 1.3 4.6	21.1 2.9 18.2	32.9 4.5 28.4	27.6 2.3 25.3	12.5 1.1 11.4	100.0
Number of Families Moving to M4 (1933-35) Whites (Estimated) Negroes (Estimated)	(5) (6) (7)	13	28 179	44 278	22 248	11 112	980
Number of Families Leaving M4 for Other Locations in Cleveland Metropolitan District (1933–35) Whites (Estimated) Negroes (Estimated)	(8) (9) (10)	11 40	25 158	39 246	20 219	9	866

lustrative Table 4, we know that 980 families moved at some time within the three-year period into a dwelling in Tract M4. We distribute this number by race according to rental, in lines six and seven of Table 8 by multiplying it by the respective percentages in lines three and four. Similarly, we know that 866 left dwellings in Tract M4 for some other point in the Cleveland Metropolitan District. We distribute these 866 families by race according to rental by multiplying 866 by the percentages in lines three and four and record the numbers in lines nine and ten.

The opportunities for movers from the white tracts, therefore, were defined as limited to the numbers in line six. These numbers, not the totals for both races, were plotted on the maps for calculating opportunities for families moving from the twelve white tracts.

A completely new set of maps was required, in addition, for calculating the movements from the ten Negro tracts reported earlier in Chart 3 and Table 3. These maps showed Negro opportunities only, such as defined for M4 by line seven of Table 8. In other words, for the Negro tracts, twice as many operations were required as for the white tracts, since separate and independent estimates had to be made of the movements of Negroes and whites within these tracts. Thus, for movement from a Negro tract, we had two tables corresponding to Table 7, and then combined the figures in the last column. However, the task was lightened by the fact that the Negro population is so heavily concentrated in a rather small area.

A word should be said about the problem of spotting Negro and white opportunities on the map for tracts containing both races. This was necessarily rather rough, but it was facilitated by the courtesy of the Bureau of the Census. Leon E. Truesdell furnished a special tabulation for each mixed tract of the 1930 population by enumeration districts according to race, and Clarence E. Batschelet supplied photostats of maps showing enumeration district boundaries. Some allowance was made, in plotting, for probable shifts in racial composition between 1930 and 1935.

Concluding Comments. The detailed description of the operations has doubtless been tedious to the reader, but there is no other way of making explicit and objective the mould in which the definitions adopted had to be shaped. The definition of opportunities, given in italics on page 856, is a general verbal formulation, but the definition as used cannot be completely understood except in terms of the unfolding statistical operations.

We have shown, then, in Charts 1, 2, and 3 and accompanying tables, that the agreement between expectation and observation is encouraging. The principal discrepancies arise, as would be expected by anyone familiar with the process of city growth, because the opportunities, as defined, take no account of direction of movement. Extend a line from the center of the city through Tract X. Actually, a dwelling in rental group K lying on or near this line farther from the center of the city than X is likely to be more attractive, on the average, to a mover from X than a dwelling in rental group K lying nearer the center of the city than X and the same distance from X as the outlying dwelling. Indeed, if this bias had not appeared in Charts 1, 2, and 3 we should have been surprised and puzzled. It would be quite possible, however, to subsume this directional factor within the theory here presented. Just as we divided our universe into two racial groups and again into several rental groups, we could make one further subdivision, as follows: (a) those to whom direction is irrelevant; and (b) those for whom opportunities comprise only dwellings of rental group K in a certain general direction from Tract X. The entire study could be done in duplicate by applying Equation 1 to each of these two groups, (a) and (b), and the results pooled at the end. There would be a difficult empirical problem of determining the relative total numbers assignable to (a) and (b), respectively. (This also was difficult with respect to race and rental.) Empirically, as a first approximation, one might go through the operations as in the present study, determine the total excess of the observed to expected in a given direction, and use this excess as a basis for estimating the relative size of (b). Then, considering only opportunities in the one direction, one could redistribute the excess by a reapplication of Equation 1. The point to be made here is that the directional factor involves no more *logical* difficulties with our

theory than the racial or economic factor.

Still another factor, not explicitly considered in the present operations, is the nationality (other than racial) factor. Again, logically, this involves no insurmountable difficulties. Practically, however, because of lack of data it was not possible to deal with it as neatly as was the case with Negroes. To a considerable extent, the control by rental seemed to take care of ethnic differences, but not entirely. The influence of the ethnic factor (other than Negro-white) may be seen, for example, in the movements from the east side tracts studied. At the eastern edge of Cleveland, where the city merges into East Cleveland, was the largest concentration of Jewish population in 1930. Tracts P5 and P6 were Jewish areas with moderately high rentals. From Tract P4, also a Jewish tract, the observed movement to P5 and P6 was 257, as compared with only 156 as estimated by Equation 1 using a definition of opportunities which ignored the ethnic (other than Negro-white) factor. From Tracts K8, L6, R3, and R4, containing relatively few Jewish families, the observed movement to P5 and P6 was 142, as compared with 170 estimated. Similarly, some of the discrepancies in movement from Tract A2 on the west side may be attributable to a large Italian population in part of the tract. A redefinition of opportunities to take direct account of the ethnic factor was not attempted for lack of data on the individual families moving. There would be special difficulties, since members of an ethnic group might fall into two types in their movement, namely, those who follow the trend of movement within their nationality group and those who deliberately seek to dissociate themselves from their group. Here is an intriguing problem for further study. The application of Equation 1 somewhat as in the present study, might serve, as a first approximation, to permit a rough estimate of the relative numbers in the two types; and as a second approximation, the equation could be reapplied to each type separately, using for each type separate universes of opportunities.

A word should be said as to the application of the theory, not to all movements, as in the present study, but only to the net movement after a lapse of several years. The 1940 Census will provide data on place of residence April 1, 1940, and place of residence five years earlier. Some persons will have moved several times during this interval. It follows necessarily from the theory that after several moves persons will be more widely dispersed

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in space than after one move. If the general spatial pattern of opportunities remains relatively constant during a time interval, the expected distribution after t years could be estimated by successive applications, year by year, of Equation 1. Practically, this would be exceedingly laborious. Introducing some shortcut approximations, Severn Provus, research assistant to the writer, is attempting this for Chicago physicians with Loop offices whose changes of residence for several years can be traced.

There is one class of mobility to which it would be rather easy to make a direct application of Equation 1, namely, movements of farmers to other farms. Here, the place of work and place of residence coincide, while in residential mobility the place of work may introduce restrictions on place of residence accounting for some variation from expectation of the theory as here expressed in simple form. In defining opportunities in connection with the movement of farmers, care must be taken to hold constant the type of farming involved. Thus, ordinarily, cotton farmers might be more likely to move a long distance to another cotton farm than a short distance to a stock farm. Such tendencies are fully consistent with the theory here introduced, and can be adequately handled statistically if appropriate definitions of opportunity are laid down.

In conclusion, we should like to repeat what was said in the beginning, namely, that even where numerical data are inadequate for direct application of the theory of intervening opportunities, the general idea may be useful as a basic organizing principle in accounting for the tendency toward certain types of spatial patterns of population. It may be found that there are certain types of mobility which cannot be subsumed within the present theory—for example, the importation of a train-load of Mexicans from southern Texas to a northern industry. At the same time, it may be found that other sociological phenomena, such as the relationship of spatial propinquity to the selection of marriage mates, the relationship between certain types of crime and the residence of criminals, the choice of colleges, and the utilization of leisure time in vacation travel, may be illuminated by application of the general theory.

AN EXPERIMENT ON THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF GOOD HOUSING*

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F. STUART CHAPIN University of Minnesota

Is THE condition of a slum family improved by rehousing in a model public housing project? An affirmative answer to this question is assumed as the justification for the expenditure of millions of dollars. Is there any proof of this assumption aside from common sense expectation?

This study is an effort to measure the effects of good housing upon former slum families rehoused in Sumner Field Homes of Minneapolis, originally a project of the Housing Division of the PWA, and since 1937, under the management of the USHA.

The most interesting findings of this study are: (1) no significant change in morale or in general adjustment in 1940 as compared to 1939, either for the 44 "experimental families" resident in the project, or for the "control group" of 38 families residing in the slum; (2) both the resident and control groups gained in social participation from 1939 to 1940, but the resident families gained twice as much in absolute score as the control group; (3) both resident and control groups gained in social status from 1939 to 1940, but the residents showed a gain of greater magnitude; (4) a score made on the "condition of the furnishings of the living room" showed for the residents a striking gain, but for the control group, a real loss for the 12-month period; and (5) both residents and control groups had improved in the percentage of families "use-crowded" in 1940 over 1939, but the gain of the residents was about three times that of the control group.

Thus the improvements in condition accrue in much larger degree to the residents of the project, and seem to justify the housing program in so far as the facts of this single study are concerned.

Three important questions intrude at this point: (1) were the measures of change or gain reliable and dependable; (2) were the magnitudes of the changes or gains sufficiently large to be significant; and (3) to what extent was rehousing per se the cause of these changes or gains? The answer to these pertinent questions requires a description of the methods used in this study.

The study was planned in 1938 to test the hypothesis: the rehousing of slum families in a public housing project results in improvement of the living conditions and the social life of these families. Sumner Field Homes was selected as the test case. In an earlier study of 1935–1936, we reported on the immediate effects of slum clearance and temporary rehousing of 171

^{*} This study was made possible by a grant from the fluid funds of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and was conducted with the cooperation of the USHA and a subcommittee of the Committee on Hygiene of Housing of the APHA. The field work and analyses were under the supervision of Julius A. Jahn, research assistant in sociology.

slum families. The present study is, therefore, a followup conducted upon a more systematic and experimental procedure. To test the hypothesis of improvement, we selected 108 project families (1939) as the "experimental group" and 131 families in slum neighborhoods as the "control group."

The experimental group of resident families were those admitted to the project after December 16, 1938. The families in the control group were living in the slum and were chosen from the "waiting list," i.e., from the group of applicants fully investigated by the USHA agents but not immediately accepted as residents because they lived in poor housing not definitely substandard, or their income was uncertain, or there was some question of economic or social stability. They remained as eligible rejects or deferred cases for later reconsideration provided subsequent applicants did not meet the requirements in sufficient numbers to fill up the project. There were about 603 families in the "waiting list." For the reasons given, they were a group comparable to residents. The control group of slum families was 21.3 percent larger than the experimental group of residents to allow for shrinkage from moving away, refusals or other reasons.

How measure the effects of good housing? Are residents of the project better adjusted than slum residents? The attempt to measure the effects of good housing utilized four sociometric scales that have been applied successfully in other recent studies: a slum family study in Minneapolis in 1935–1936,² and a WPA relief study in St. Paul in 1939.³

The scales measure: (1) Morale, or the degree that the individual feels competent to cope with the future and to achieve his desired goals; (2) General Adjustment, or the feelings about his relationship to other persons, toward present or future social conditions and toward present social institutions; (3) Social Participation, or the degree to which an individual actually engages in the organized activities of his community in terms of membership, attendance, contributions, committees, and offices; and (4) Social Status, or the position the family occupies with reference to the average prevailing household possessions of other families in the community.

Interviewing of residents and nonresidents began in February 1939 and continued intermittently through July 1939, when a total of 239 had been interviewed, 108 residents and 131 nonresidents. A group of 12 interviewers, graduate students in sociology and social work at the University of Minnesota, were used. Only two were paid; the remainder were volunteers. The visitors were instructued in a group meeting and each was provided with sheets of typed directions before going into the field. Entré to the families was obtained by the visitor stating that he was collecting information about

¹ F. Stuart Chapin, "The Effects of Slum Clearance and Re-housing on Families and Community Relationships in Minneapolis," Amer. J. Sociol., March 1938, 744-763.

^a F. Stuart Chapin, and Julius A. Jahn, "The Advantages of Work Relief over Direct Relief in Maintaining Morale in St. Paul in 1939." Amer. J. Sociol., July 1940, 13-22.

6 Final Marched	Groups	(82)	‡ *	<controls< th=""><th>, gg</th><th>S N.R(2j)</th></controls<>	, gg	S N.R(2j)
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FLOW CHART OF EFFECTS OF GOOD HOUSING IN MINNEAPOLIS, 1939-1940 2 4 Samples Selected for Interviewed Interv	Feb. r-Jul. 31,	(132)	8) 95 8(21	12345678970	(1)	(59) N-R(12) - R(8) 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
FFFECTS OF GOOD H Selected for	Interview	(161)	Eo1 🔖(6		3)	R(47) / R(47)
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I Original Population 1939	ACK TOTAL TO	Totals (1067)	464 Families in	Nomes Homes	603 Nonresident Families	Reason for Elimination 1. Not located 2. Moved out of town 3. Moved to Sum. Field Homes. 4. Refusals of information 5. Not at home. 6. Sickness 7. Went on relief 8. Moved, and not located 9. Different subject interv d 10. Changed occupation 11. Moved to new dwelling unit 12. On WPA strike 13. Unable to match

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people's opinions as part of a wider study being made under the direction of a university scientist. No mention was made of any connection of this study with the USHA. In this way, it was felt that a more spontaneous response would be obtained. The interview furnished the following data.

Minnesota Survey of Opinions, two sheets with 31 questions about the individual's attitudes, to be filled in by the subject. After the interview, the Moral score and the General Adjustment score may be extracted from the subject's marked response by a simple system of weighting and scoring. It takes the subject from 20 to 30 minutes to fill this in.4

Social Participation Scale, one sheet for entries on each group affiliation of subject recorded in five entries under five columns by the visitor in reply to questions answered by the subject. It takes 10 or 15 minutes to fill in the subject's answers.⁵

Social Status Scale, one sheeting containing 21 entries filled in as observations made by the visitor, with perhaps one or two non-inquisitorial questions. Can be completed in 5 minutes' observation.⁵

The flow chart illustrates the actual shrinkage from the initial group of 108 resident families to the final group of 44 resident families, and from the initial group of 131 slum families not resident in the project (called the control group) to the final group of 38 families. At each point in the study, the elimination of families is shown with the reason for it.

The 103 resident families and the 88 nonresident families that were interviewed in 1939 were matched on the following factors:

- 1. Race or cultural class of husband (Negro, Jew, mixed white);
 2. Employment of husband (private, unemployed, OAA, WPA);
- 3. Occupational class of husband (I-professional, II-managerial, III-clerical, etc., using the Minnesota Rating Scale of occupations);
- 4. Number of persons in the family (2, 2-3, 3-5, etc.); 5. Income of the family (\$690-814, 815-939, etc.).

When so matched, the results of interviewing to obtain scores on *Morale* and on *General Adjustment*, as well as scores on *Social Participation* and *Social Status*, showed the two groups to be very much alike. In fact, none of the critical ratios of the absolute differences in scores were statistically significant and in all cases were — I.OI or less. This result establishes the fact that the initial experimental group and the initial control group matched on five factors began the experiment in 1939 (visiting was from Feb. I to July 31) with a common base or zero point from which to measure change or gains.

Five additional matching factors were then added because it was found that the responses on the *Morale* and *General Adjustment* scales were made chiefly by housewives. These five factors were:

- 6. Race or cultural class of wife;
- 7. Employment of wife;

⁴ These scales and their norms will be found in E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, Personality in the Depression, U. of Minn. Press, 1936.

⁵ These scales and their norms will be found in F. S. Chapin, Contemporary American Institutions, 373-397, New York, 1935; and F. S. Chapin, "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," Amer. Sociol. Rev., April 1939, 157-166.

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8. Occupational class of wife;

9. Age of wife (16-20, 21-30, etc.);

10. Years education of wife (1-4, 5-8, etc.).

This process eliminated 47 cases from the experimental group of residents, and 12 cases from the control group of nonresidents for the reasons shown on the flow chart. This brought us to the end of the 1939 study with measurements on 56 cases of residents and 76 cases of nonresidents or controls.

TABLE I. MEASURED CHANGES ASSOCIATED WITH HOUSING

		Means of Meas	ures of Effect	
Groups Compared	Morale* Scores	General* Adjustment Scores	Social Participation Scores	Social Status Scores
Residents (N=44) 1939 1940 Mean Change Critical Ratio of Mean Change	60.1	45.0	1.73	60.5
	60.2	44.0	6.34	86.7
	0.1	-1.0	4.61	26.2
	0.12	-0.97	3.69	4.27
Nonresidents (N=38) 1939 1940 Mean Change Critical Ratio of Mean Change	58.0	42.4	2.76	61.1
	56.6	41.2	4.87	82.2
	-1.4	-1.2	2.11	21.1
	-1.28	-1.34	2.88	3.82

* Reverse scales, hence minus change interpreted as a gain.

The next step was taken a year later (Feb. 1 to May 31, 1940), when the followup eliminated 12 more cases from the resident group and 38 more cases from the nonresident group for the reasons listed on the flow chart. This left final groups of 44 resident families and 38 nonresident families matched on ten factors and which were occupants of the same dwelling unit in 1939 and in 1940. This also added one more constant matching factor.

The mean score were then calculated for these two matched groups and the 1939 values were compared with the 1940 values. The differences or gains are shown in Table 1, together with the critical ratios of these changes.

It will be observed that the changes in morale and in general adjustment were very small, absolutely and relatively, and that the critical ratios of these changes show them to be not statistically significant (that is, less than 2). On the other hand, the measured changes in social participation and in social status were large in absolute magnitude and were statistically significant. This observation applies with special emphasis to the residents, who gained more in magnitude and with statistically significant gains.

There are two explanations of the insignificant changes in morale and in general adjustment. First, when the raw scores on *Morale* and *General Adjustment* of Table 1 are converted into standard scores by the Rundquist-

Sletto tables,6 it appears that the morale and general adjustment of these housewives of slum families were about at the level of the normal population. Since they were evidently not depressed or variant, it was to be expected that a change in residence for one year would have only slight effect. Second, the Morale and General Adjustment scores of the experimental group in 1939 were obtained after occupancy of a dwelling unit in the housing project, so that if any gain had been experienced in relation to improved housing, it would have taken place earlier. The Survey of Opinions form which yielded the scores on morale and on general adjustment was not part of the interviews conducted by agents of the USHA when making an initial investigation of applicants, since to have included this additional form would have increased the time of interview beyond the limit thought to be appropriate by the USHA; consequently, we were obliged to use this Survey of Opinions form in later interviews made by graduate student and social work visitors as described above. However, all of the Social Participation and Social Status scores, as well as the information as to percentage of families usecrowded, were obtained as part of the initial interviews made by the USHA visitors, and include all of the 1067 families in 1939. The 1940 information on all scales was obtained by graduate students and social workers. Since the changes measured on morale and general adjustment were so indeterminate, our remaining argument will be based upon the substantial changes in (a) social participation, (b) condition of furnishings in the living room, and (c) percentage of families in each group use-crowded.

In order to orient our procedures and findings to the requirements of technical research, we may now re-state our thesis in terms of two null hypotheses: (1) there are no changes in social participation, condition of the living room and in percentage use-crowded, if differences in composition of the experimental group and the control group are held constant in respect to the ten matching factors, race of husband, employment of husband, occupation of husband, number of persons in the family, income of family, race of wife, employment of wife, occupation of wife, age of wife, and years education of wife; (2) the observed changes in social participation, condition of the living room, and percentage use-crowded, are not greater than those that could occur between two groups selected by random sampling from the same population. If these two null hypotheses are disproved by the results of this study, it will then be permissible to conclude that the assumption of the USHA program of slum clearance and rehousing has not been disproved by the findings of this experiment.

⁶ Ibid., 389-391.

⁷ A year is perhaps only a short time for changes in morale and in general adjustment to register. The very slight gain on these measures shown by the nonresidents reflects perhaps the improvement in economic conditions and in general prosperity. Data on total unduplicated public welfare case count for Minneapolis show a substantial improvement in 1940 over 1939. The index of store sales of the IX Federal Reserve Bank shows a change from 94 for the first six months of 1939 to 97 for the corresponding period of 1940.

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It will be observed that one of the conditions of the first null hypothesis is the constancy of the ten matching factors. These factors were held constant throughout the period of the experiment. A further word is relevant, however, as to the procedure in matching. The matching process when carried out in strict manner involves identical individual matching, that is, each individual in the experimental group is matched against another individual in the control group exactly similar in respect to the ten matching factors. Since this rigorous process of matching inevitably leads to heavy eliminations of cases that can not be paired on all factors, we resorted to the expedient of pairing two or more from the experimental group against one case of the control group within a stated range. To put the matter in different phraseology, the families in the nonresident group were paired against the families in the resident group when one or more nonresident families had

TABLE 2. CHANGES IN MEASURES OF EFFECTS OF HOUSING, 1939-1940

Groups Compared		Rows	Mean Social Partici- pation Scores	Mean Scores, Condition of Living Room	Percentage Use-Crowded	
Residents N=44	1939 1940 Mean change	(1) (2) (3)	1.73 6.34 +4.61	-0.2 +3.0 +3.2	50.0 6.0 -44.0	
Nonresidents N=38	1939 1940 Mean change	(4) (5) (6)	2.76 4.87 +2.11	+3.5 +2.2 -1.3	44·7 28.9 —15.8	

the same classification according to the list of matching factors as one or more of the resident families. As indicated, this procedure was less rigorous than identical individual matching but gave us greater freedom in the pairing process, prevented excessive elimination of cases, yielded terminal groups of larger size, and was followed by determinate results.

The absolute differences shown in rows (3) and (6) of Table 2 is the evidence for disproof of the first null hypothesis. In short, despite matching on ten factors there were differences between the experimental group and the control group in respect to social participation, condition of the living room and percentage use-crowded. We find in this table, therefore, evidence to disprove the first null hypothesis and consequently to conclude that the assumption of favorable effect of the housing program on slum families is not disproven by the results of this study.

The reliability of the changes appearing in rows (3) and (6) of the table is related, first, to the standardization of the scales used in obtaining the dif-

⁸ A systematic analysis of the effects of precision of control by matching appears in our recent article, "A Study of Social Adjustment Using the Technique of Analysis by Selective Control," Social Forces, May 1940, 476–487.

ferences, and second, to the size of the standard errors of these differences. As to the first point, namely the standardization of the scales, it may be stated briefly that we have previously published the reliability coefficients and the validity coefficients of these scales, thus displaying the evidence for the claim that both scales are dependable instruments of observation. The second point, namely, the significance of the absolute differences in terms of the standard errors of the differences of the means, may be most satisfactorily considered by comparison of the critical ratios. When a critical ratio of a difference or of a change has a numerical value of 3, the odds of such a difference being due to chance factors in random sampling is about 1 in 370. When the critical ratio is 2, the odds are about 1 to 20. With this in mind, we now consider the last two columns of Table 3.

TABLE 3. CRITICAL RATIOS OF THE GAINS OR LOSSES OF TABLE 2

Measures of Effects of Housing	Mean Gain of and Nonresi Year Period 1	dents in	Critical Ratio of this Gain	Odds of Such a Gain Being Due to Chance Alone in Random Sampling	
1. Social Participation	Resident Nonresident	+ 4.6 + 2.1	+3.69 +2.88	I in	4,638 chances 267 chances
2. Condition of Living Room	Resident Nonresident	+ 3.2	+2.28 -1.14	I in	46 chances 3 chances
3. Decline in Percentage Use-Crowded	Resident Nonresident	$-44\%^{1}$ $-15.8\%^{1}$	-4·44 -1·43	I in	92,593 chances 6 chances

¹ A decline in percent use-crowded (negative sign) is interpreted as a gain.

It will be seen from the last column of this table that the gains made by the resident group are far more significant in terms of probability than the gains of the nonresident group in every comparison. In fact, the only category in which nonresidents made a gain of any appreciable importance was in social participation, but even here the contrast to the gain made by the residents is striking. Since the odds of finding chance differences of this size between 1939 and 1940 are extremely slight for the resident group, and since at the outset and throughout the comparison the resident and non-resident groups were matched on ten factors, we may conclude that there is a high probability that the gains were due to the housing factor; namely, the program of rehousing slum families.

Since the gains in (1) social participation and (2) condition of the living room occur together, that is, appear in the same families for the same period studied, is it not possible to obtain a measure of the probability of occurrence of these factors together or in a pattern? The answer to this question is "yes." There is a probability formula for the so-called "multiple critical

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ratio" that enables us to combine the two measured differences. When this is used we find that the multiple critical ratio of the residents is 4.23, and of the nonresidents is only 1.23. This means that the odds of finding a combined difference on these two measurements, or a pattern of differences on these housing factors in the magnitude shown, is one in 37,593 chances for the residents, and only one in 4.5 chances for the nonresidents. This combined analysis shows, therefore, that the probability in favor of the resident's gain not being due to chance is overwhelming.

Final proof that the gains of the residents are due solely to their improved housing would require that we had listed all the community and personal influences that operated in the period studied and then controlled by

TABLE 4. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF RESIDENT AND NONRESIDENT GROUPS

Social Participation Levels	Frequency	dents y of Types cipation	Nonresidents Frequency of Types of Participation		
	1939	1940	1939	1940	
None	29	16	26	13	
1. Member	14	44	15	30	
2. Attend	12	42	16	30	
3. Contribute	13	37	13	24	
4. Committee	0	5	. 1	2	
5. Office	0	4	3	3	
Total Families	44	44	38	38	

matching, all of these differences excepting only the fact that the resident group were in the project and the nonresident group were in the slum. Obviously such a task would have been impossible to perform. We did, however, control by matching ten factors of a personal and social nature, which, if not controlled, might have explained the differences eventually found. With these ten factors controlled or held constant throughout the experiment, we found by application of probability formulas that the differences measured could not have been due to chance in any reasonable expectation that reasonable persons would insist upon. Consequently, we may conclude that the results of the experiment have disproved the second null hypothesis, and this means that the assumption of the USHA program that rehousing improves slum families has not been disproved.

Sociological research continually reveals the existence of configurations and patterns of several factors. One such pattern of factors discovered in this study was the occurrence together of higher social participation score with improved condition of the living room and less use-crowding. Since we have hitherto been dealing with these conditions in terms of scores (nu-

merical symbols), it may be helpful to show the gross facts of observation from which these scores were derived. Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7 do this.

TABLE 5. ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATED IN BY RESIDENT AND NONRESIDENT GROUPS

Types of Social	Residents Number of Persons Participating			Nonresidents Number of Persons Participating		
Organizations	1939	1940	Diff. (2-1)	1939	1940	Diff. (2-1)
1. Sumner Field	+					
Association	0	13	13	0	0	0
Mothers' Club	0	4	4	0	0	0
2. Neighborhood						
House Clubs	I	1	0	0	1	1
3. Church						
or Sunday School	7	11	4	16	17	1
Clubs	1	2	1	1	2	I
4. Unions	0	1	1	0	1	1
5. Other	6	14	8	7	12	5
Total	15	46	31	24	33	9

Table 6. Types of Social Organizations Included in the "Other" or Miscellaneous Classification in Table 5

Res	sidents	Nonresident		
1939	1940	1939	1940	
2 Social 2 Insurance 1 Bowling 1 Bridge	2 Bridge 1 Mahjong 1 Home Ec. 1 Delta Theta Pi 1 W.F.B.A. 1 Sokol 3 P.T.A. 1 Charity 1 Relief Corps 1 Scout 1 Citizen's	2 Social 2 Veterans 1 Lodge 1 Kindergarten Mother's Club 1 Scout	2 Veterans 1 Lodge 1 Mother's 1 Women's 1 Scout 3 Card (or Bridge) 3 P.T.A.	
6	14	7	12	

Table 4 shows that the residents gained at every level of participation at least twice as much as the nonresidents gained. The question now may be asked, what kind of organizations were included in these gains? Table 5 supplies the answer to this question. It will be seen that the greatest gains of the residents were in (1) the Sumner Field Tenants' Association and its

subsidiaries, (2) Sunday school, and (3) other organizations. What was the nature of these "other organizations"? Table 6 supplies the facts. It will be seen that in "other organizations," the residents gained by diversification and variety in their social contacts, probably a beneficial gain.

An explanation of the scores on condition of the living room and the subsequent differences or gains in these scores that were summarized in Table 2, can be obtained by examining Part II of the Social Status Scale. In spite of the apparent subjectivity of these categories of observation, they are in fact very reliable, as has been shown by coefficients of reliability of +.72 to +.97 obtained from repeated observations of the same homes.

TABLE 7. CHANGES IN USE-CROWDING OF RESIDENT AND NONRESIDENT GROUPS

Type of Use-Crowding		dents = 44	Nonresidents N=38	
	1939	1940	1939	1940
1. Dining Room	1	0	3	1
2. Kitchen	0	0	0	0
3. Bed room, or D. R. & K.	21	3	14	9
4. B. R. & D. R. & K.	0	0	0	1
Total	22	3	17	11

Table 2, which measures differences and gains in terms of the percentage of families use-crowded, may be explained by the information contained in Table 7 above. Here it will be seen that the 22 families (or 50 percent of the 44 resident families) classified as use-crowded, used their living room as a

PART II: CONDITION OF ARTICLES IN LIVING ROOM

To provide some objective rating of qualitative attributes of the living room, such as "Aesthetic atmosphere" or "general impression," the following additional items may be noted. The visitor should check the words that seem to describe the situation. Some of the weights are of minus sign, and so operate as penalties to reduce the total score of the home.

18.	Cleanliness	of	room	and	furnishings:

a. Spotted or Stained (-4)_

b. Dusty (-2).

c. Spotless and dustless (+2)___

19. Orderliness of room and furnishings

a. Articles strewn about in disorder (-2).

b. Articles in place or in useable order (+2)_

20. Condition of repair of articles and furnishings

a. Broken, scratched, frayed, ripped, or torn (-4).

b. Articles or furnishings patched up (-2)_____

c. Articles or furnishings in good repair and well kept (+2)

21. Record your general impression of good taste

a. Bizarre, clashing, inharmonious, or offensive (-4).
 b. Drab, monotonous, neutral, inoffensive (-2)

c. Attractive in a positive way, harmonious, quiet and restful (+2).

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The portion of the Social Status Scale referred to is as follows:

dining room also in one case in 1939 and had no such double use in 1940. They used their living room as a bedroom also, or as a dining room and kitchen also, in 21 cases in 1939; but in 1940, there were only three such cases. This was a real gain in the functional purpose of the living room and represented less confusion of function in 1940 than in 1939. Similar analysis for the nonresident group shows much less gain in these respects.

Inasmuch as the results of this study were presented at the beginning, it may be useful to conclude our discussion with an attempt to place the methodology of this "experiment" in relation to similar procedures hitherto used by the author. Since 1916, we have been interested in the possibilities of using "the experimental method" in sociological research and in 1917, published an early attempt to delineate the field. This paper was followed by several others so that we have recently come to the tentative conclusion that the essential point in the application of a method somewhat like that of "the experiment" in natural science research is the procedure that we have called "analysis by selective control." The present paper is the most complete application of this method we have yet attempted. Consideration of the variations in techniques used suggests that there are three forms of analysis by selective control. These are stated below.

1. Cross-sectional Analysis by selective control, in which an "experimental group" is matched on selected factors against a "control group" for a given date or time. This form is illustrated in our WPA-Relief study of 1939.¹²

2. Retroactive-retrospective Analysis by selective control, in which an "experimental group" is matched on selected factors against a "control group" for a common date or time earlier than the present, and then followed through to a present date. This form is illustrated in the St. Paul high school student study, 12 made by Mrs. Christiansen.

3. Projected Analysis by selective control (the "normal" experimental design), in which an initial "experimental group" is matched on selected factors against an initial "control group" for a common date or time, and then followed up for a second series of measurements at a future date or time. The present study of the effects of good housing is an illustration of this third form of analysis by selective control.

¹⁰ F. Stuart Chapin, "The Experimental Method and Sociology," The Scientific Monthly, Feb. 1917, 133-144; March 1917, 238-247.

¹¹ F. Stuart Chapin, "The Problem of Controls in Experimental Sociology," J. Educ. Sociol., May 1931, 541-551; "The Advantages of Experimental Sociology in the Study of Family Group Patterns," Social Forces, Dec. 1932, 200-207; and "Design for Social Experiments," Amer. Sociol. Rev., Dec. 1938, 786-800.

¹² F. Stuart Chapin and Julius A. Jahn, "The Advantages of Work Relief over Direct Relief in Maintaining Morale in St. Paul in 1939," Amer. J. Sociol., July 1940, 13-22.

¹³ F. Stuart Chapin, "A Study of Social Adjustment Using the Technique of Analysis by Selective Control," Social Forces, May 1940, 476-487.

MORALE OF COLLEGE-TRAINED ADULTS*

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DELBERT C. MILLER
State College of Washington

The Working Hypotheses. This study is an exploratory inquiry into the morale of college trained adults. It seeks to examine three hypotheses: (1) the morale of adults depends not only on the nature of the social situation but also on how each individual feels that some purpose or value of his own is affected by the situation; (2) a wide variety of sociological and social psychological factors are associated with morale; (3) it is possible to predict the morale of any college trained adult within a range of the upper and lower quartiles if some of the major factors associated with morale can be identified.

II. Collection of Data. 1. Description of Adults Selected. This investigation is only one part of a comprehensive research being conducted at the University of Minnesota.1 A grant was made available to the General College in 1937 for a thorough inquiry into the lives of former University of Minnesota students who had left the University from one to thirteen years before 1937. A sample of 1600 adults was chosen in 1937. These persons were selected in order that the sample might be representative of those who enter the University and constitute the collegiate population which numbered about 13,000 students in 1937. Of the 1600 cases, 800 were of each sex and these were subdivided to 200 of each sex who entered the University as freshmen in the school years 1924-25, 1925-26, 1928-29, 1929-30. The number drawn from each college was proportional to the total entering enrollment in the college of Science, Literature, and Arts, and in the colleges of Agriculture, Engineering, and Education. These colleges absorb the major share of entering students. While maintaining these proportions, the sample was drawn from alphabetical lists in accordance with this particular practice of random sampling.

2. Construction of the Questionnaire. The original questionnaire in the General College research project was selected by the director of research as the means of gathering the wide range of information desired. Members of the General College staff cooperatively built the questionnaire. The four major areas of vocational life, home and family life, social-civic life, and

^{*} The author wishes to acknowledge of the assistance of the General College of the University of Minnesota. Special thanks for advice are due Professors Chapin, Kirkpatrick, and Sletto of the University of Minnesota.

¹ See C. Robert Pace, "General College Adult Study," 171-258, in the General College Staff Report on *Problems and Progress of the General College*, University of Minnesota, 1939. Books are to be published soon reporting this research under the sponsorship of the General Education Board.

personal life were selected as a framework to guide the preparation of questions and the selection of scales of measurement. Specialists in test construction assumed the responsibility of putting the items in acceptable technical form. More than six months of effort was given to the process of phrasing, criticism by conference, rephrasing, and final adoption of items. Standardized scales were included to measure job satisfaction, economic status, cultural status, political attitudes, general adjustment, and morale. The final questionnaire forms were brought together in a printed booklet of 52 pages, illustrated with thirty photographs identifying the various activities of social life.

3. Pretesting of the Questionnaire. A sample of 300 University graduates, not included in the 1600, was used to test various problems experimentally. Dull, difficult, ambiguous, and infrequently checked sections were identified and eliminated. From returns secured, R. F. Sletto predicted that approximately 70 percent of the selected sample of 1600 cases would return the questionnaire with its data.²

4. Distribution of the Questionnaire. The first step in distributing the General College Study questionnaire was to bring the addresses of the 1600 persons up to date. The number found was 1507. These were believed to be accurate. To these people, questionnaires were mailed, but 126 were returned unanswered because of faulty address. Thus, 1381 were actually delivered; 951 usable replies were received after using five follow-up notices. This represents 59 per cent of the 1600 and 69 percent of those who received the questionnaire. A review of the characteristics of those answering, points to the general conclusion that the sample is a young, middle class, and urban group of adults select in intelligence and educational training. The validity which the findings of this study possess is applicable only to the ocial strata from which the sample was drawn. Any application of these findings to other groups should be made in a tentative manner.

5. The Measurement of Morale. The morale of the 951 adults has been measured by the Rundquist and Sletto Morale Scale. The scale was completed and furnished with available norms in 1936. Reliability coefficients for the scale range from .70 to .80.3

III. Classification and Organization of the Data Collected. 1. A Classification of the Morale Factors. The investigation brought together data on 435 items for both men and women. These items have been classified into four groups of factors as follows:

² Two valuable articles about this questionnaire have been published. See C. Robert Pace, "Factors Influencing Questionnaire Returns from Former University Students," J. App. Psychol., June 1939, 388-397; Raymond F. Sletto, "Pretesting of Questionnaires," Amer. Sociol. Rev., 5: 193-200, April 1940.

⁸ E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, Personality in the Depression, Minneapolis, 1936.

1. Sociological Factors

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Institution	Examples	
Economic	Occupation, Income, Stability of Employment, etc.,	
Domestic	Marital Status, Type of Residence, etc.,	
Educational	College Aptitude, Quarters of University Work, etc.,	
Recreational	Leisure Participation, etc.,	
Health	Debt For Medical Care, etc.,	

2. Social Role Factors

Participation	Examples
Community Activities Family Relationships Discussion Interests Newspaper Reading Movie Going Radio Listening	Gave public speeches, visited schools, etc., Disagreement over managing income, etc., Discuss Federal Control of Power, etc., Read political comment, sports, etc., Saw Camile, Fury, Devil Is a Sissy, etc., Listen to Edwin C. Hill, Fred Allen, etc.,

3. ECONOMIC ROLE FACTORS

Factors	Examples
Characteristics of Job Job Satisfaction Opinions about Work	Income is fairly certain, etc., Robert Hoppock's scale, etc., The government should provide employment to all who cannot find work, etc.

4. INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE FACTORS

Factors	Examples	
Life Satisfactions Philosophy	Want financial success in your work, etc., Pray for strength and guidance, etc.,	
Personality Traits Control temper, laugh easily, etc.,		
Other Related Items	Leisure enjoyment, etc.,	

The sociological and social role factors are entirely objective in the sense that they represent factors in the *structure* of the institutions in which adults participate. These factors are relatively quite stable and are easily verified by independent observers with nearly perfect reliability.

The economic role and individual response factors are subjective in the sense that they represent how the adults *feel* about their job. They are probably somewhat less stable and more difficult for independent observers to verify.

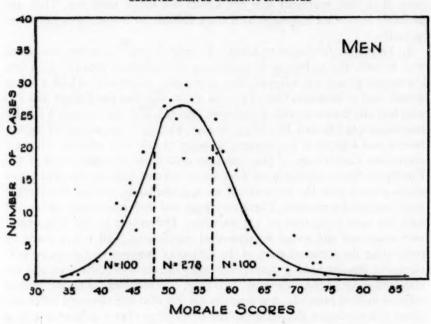
2. Techniques for Factoring Morale. In order to find the factors associated with morale, the technique of examining the difference between high and low morale groups was followed. This meant that a definition of high and low morale had to be made. Out of 478 men, 100 who had the highest and 100 who had the lowest morale scores were selected. For the women, a similar procedure was followed. Out of 473 women, a group of 100 women of highest morale and a group of 100 women of lowest morale were selected. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the scores secured from an application of the Rundquist-Sletto Morale Scale. Low scores indicate high morale. The figure shows clearly how the extremes of an approximately normal distribution were selected for analysis. These very high and very low morale persons of each sex were compared on 435 variables. Differences in the proportions were examined and tested for statistical significance. This test is made by computing the standard error of the difference between two given proportions and then by finding the ratio between the observed difference and the standard error of the difference. This ratio is commonly called the critical ratio. A critical ratio of 3.0 practically assures that the observed difference is not due to chance fluctuations. The probability that a difference with a critical ratio of 3.0 is due to chance is about 1 in 370. Whenever critical ratios of 3.0 and above are found, it is practically a certainty that observed differences with such critical ratios are significant, that is to say, the differences are due to other than mere chance factors. High critical ratios, 2.00 and above, are regarded as evidence of association between the two factors tested. Critical ratios slightly below 2.00 are regarded as giving confidence of probable association when the differences for both men and women are in the same direction.

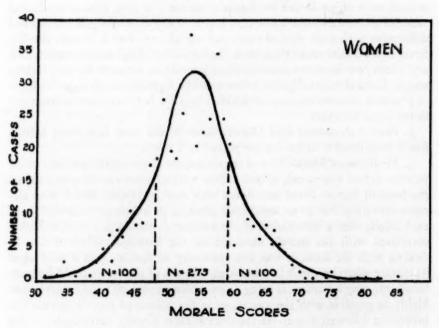
3. Factors Associated with Morale. Some of the most important factors found associated with morale are placed in Table 1.

4. Prediction of Morale. One of the objectives of this study is to determine to what extent the morale of any college trained adult can be predicted on the basis of factors found associated with morale. If each factor is an element serving either as an associated effect or in influencing the morale of each adult, then a summation of these elements should give a score highly correlated with the morale observed on the Rundquist-Sletto scale. In dealing with the data, it was first necessary to decide upon a method of weighting whereby the information about each of the items could be combined into single numerical expressions whose variations would correlate as highly as possible with the variations in the measured morale scores. The procedure followed was to let the critical ratio already determined be the

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FIGURE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF MEASURED MORAL SCORES WITH SELECTED SAMPLE SEGMENTS INDICATED





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TABLE I. FACTORS FOUND ASSOCIATED WITH THE MORALE OF MEN

Factors	High Morale	Low Morale	
Sociological Factors	Occupation as an Executive or Manager A yearly income above \$2000 Age of 30 years or older A regular income and steady employment Financial plans for old age Marriage	Occupation in Group III and below A yearly income below \$2000 Age of 23 years to 29 years Irregular and unstable employment No financial plans for old age Single status High college aptitude scores	
Social Role Factors	Making public speeches Regular radio listening to political news and comment	Discussion of fascism, socialism, and communism	
Economic Role Factors	Family members approve of the job Job advancement on the basis of merit High job satisfaction	Job competition is too intense Job advancement is not on basis of meri Family members and friends do no approve of job Low job satisfaction Believe that money value of education is exaggerated	
Individual Response Factors	Desire a chance to continue study and self-improvement High general adjustment Responses indicating deep religious convictions High leisure enjoyment Conservative political opinions	Desire wealth and leisure Also want a chance to do creative work in literature and the arts Believe in Fate and think that the "breaks" go against them Fee! that religion has little to offer in- telligent people Low leisure enjoyment Liberal political opinions	
	FACTORS FOUND ASSOCIATED WIT	TH MORALE OF WOMEN	
Sociological Factors	Financial plans for old age Residence in states other than Min- nesota	Occupation in Class III and below No financial plans for old age Residence in Minneapolis	
Social Role Factors	Making public speeches	Discuss rising cost of living and problem of public relief	
Economic Role Factors	Ample opportunities for job advance- vancement Job advancement on basis of merit Contacts with many pleasant people on the job High job satisfaction	Lack opportunities for job advancement Job advancement is not on basis of merit Work is too monotonous Low job satisfaction Believe that the government should gradually take over all large industries	
Individual Response Factors	Desire a happy married life; to make a good home for their husband When things seem "black," they pray for strength and guidance, buckle down and work harder Feel that things are going well Many responses indiciating deep re- ligious convictions High leisure enjoyment High general adjustment	Desire wealth and leisure; travel and adventure and social prestige When things seem "black" they feel that fate is against them and think that nothing really matters anyway Feelings are easily hurt Believe that religion has little to offer intelligent people Low leisure enjoyment Low general adjustment	

weight given the factor. For men, 79 of the most significant factors were used; 59, for women. The information covered such items as are found in Table 1. The manner of weighting can be seen in Table 2. This table shows the sociological factors which are associated with low morale.

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Table 2. Weighting Key for the Sociological Factors in the Prediction of the Morale of Men

Factors	Character	Weight	
I. Marital status	Single status	2.22	
2. Age	23 years-29 years	2.44	
3. Residence	Minneapolis	1.70	
4. Income	\$1999 or less yearly	3.36	
5. Occupation	Classes 3, 4, 5, 6, 7	2.31	
6. Education	7 quarters-15 quarters	1.43	
7. Financial plans for old age	No	4.42	
8. College aptitude	Scores 71-100	2.47	
9. Hours of A grade	10-29 hours	3.17	
10. Regular Income	No or doubtful	2.44	
11. Steady employment	No or doubtful	2.95	
12. Debts in college	No	1.88	
13. Hours worked per week	44 hours or less	2.48	
14. Type of residence	Apartment	1.76	
15. Age of residence	20 years or more	2.10	
16. Live in parents' or relatives'	Yes	2.38	

Then 100 men and 100 women were selected by random sampling from our larger sample of 951 adults. The items listed in the prediction table were scored for each of the 100 men and 100 women, and the resulting scores were combined and the sums correlated with the measured morale scores of each.

The Pearsonian coefficient of correlation between the two scores was $.72 \pm .05$ for men and $.64 \pm .06$ for women. This indicates that about 52 percent of the variance in the morale of men can be explained by the prediction factors. For women, about 41 percent of the variance can be explained thus.

The prediction table can locate individuals in the upper and lower quartiles of measured morale well enough to place over half of all high and low morale cases in their respective upper and lower quartile divisions. By counting the cases of high and low morale men in the upper and lower deciles, it can be seen that 8 out of 10 high and low morale men in the deciles of measured morale can be predicted as falling in the respective prediction quartile. For the women, 7 out of 10 can be so located.

5. Relationship of Sociological, Social Role, Economic Role, and Individual Response Factors with Morale. The correlation of the sociological, social role,

⁴ For examples and discussion of weighting by this method, see Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, 314-316, New York, 1939; Lewis M. Terman and Associates, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, 117-118, New York, 1938.

economic role, and individual response factors with morale was determined separately for each of these four sets of factors in order to estimate their relative importance as "determiners" of high and low morale. Random samples of 100 men and 100 women were scored on variables identified in each case. Total scores on each of the four sets of factors were computed. Table 3 displays the correlations with morale that were found.

Table 3. The Correlation of Sociological, Social Role, Economic Role, and Individual Response Factors with Morale

Factors Correlated with Morale	Men	Women
Sociological	.44±.08	.27±.09
Social Role	.22±.10	.10±.10
Economic Role	$.60 \pm .06$.30±.09
Individual Response	$.63 \pm .06$.67±.06

Both sets of subjective factors (Economic Role and Individual Response) display a higher relationship with morale than the objective factors. This indicates that the extent to which an individual feels he is achieving the goals he wants is more important in explaining morale than is the structural nature of the institutions in which he lives.

6. Morale Scores Correlated with the Sociological, and Social Psychological Component Factors. The interrelationship of the sociological and social psychological components can also be affirmed by combining the factors called social role (participation in community activities) and sociological (institutional aspects such as occupation, marital status, etc.) into one group which are used to represent the sociological environment. These factors are all objective in the sense that they exist regardless of how the individual feels about them. A combination of the economic role (how adults feel about their job) and individual response patterns (how individuals react to social situations) gives a group of factors that are subjective. These constitute factors which reflect how the individual feels about the social situation in which he lives. They make up a social psychological component of morale. Total scores computed for all factors in the two components are correlated with morale scores. For men, the sociological component shows a correlation of $r = .44 \pm .08$, the social psychological component an r of .72 \pm .05. For women, the sociological component shows a correlation of $r=.23\pm.09$, the social psychological component, an r of .66 ± .06. A definite interrelationship between these two components is indicated by the correlation of $r = .50 \pm .08$ for men.

7. The Search for Constellations of Intercorrelated Factors of Morale. A search was made to discover the highest relationship of a limited number of factors with morale. This project takes on importance in experimental

designs where the need arises for controlling all the factors affecting a dependent variable except the one factor whose influence the researcher seeks to determine. Six factors are believed to be extremely important in influencing morale. This belief is based on the certainty of association which is derived from the statistical identification of the factors. The factors are age, size of income, occupation, regularity of income, stability of employment, and hours worked per week. Combined scores in these factors according to the data secured by the initial questionnaire correlated with measured morale scores of 100 men by an $r=.34\pm.09$. Six factors were then selected that could be easily ascertained by interview and testing. These are financial plans for old age, job satisfaction, family members approve of job, job advancement is on merit, the individual feels that things are going well, and leisure enjoyment. The measurement of job satisfaction and leisure enjoyment is made by scales. In order to get the information for the remaining items, the interviewer need only ask the subject to answer by Yes, No, or Undecided. The scoring of men on these factors gives a correlation of $r = .64 \pm .06$. If the researcher is willing to do field work, then a selection of these six social psychological factors would make up the best set of limited controls discovered by this study.

IV. Generalization. 1. Validity of the Major Hypotheses. The three major

hypotheses are believed to have been proved valid.

(1) The morale of adults depends not only on the nature of the social situation but also on how each individual feels that some purpose or value of his own is affected by the situation. Our empirical data have shown a definite relationship between the structural elements which constitute the social situation and morale. The importance of how the individual feels that some purpose or value of his own is affected by the social situation should not be under-estimated. High correlations between morale and the economic role and the individual response patterns for both men and women are strong evidence of the interconnection between values and morale.

Not only are the sociological and social psychological factors related to morale for both men and women but these component factors are also related by coefficient indicating a positive relationship. The structural nature of the social environment is exerting influence both directly and indirectly. As the social conditions range from what society calls desirable to undesirable, so we may likewise expect that a tendency exists for the morale of adults living in these conditions to range from high to low. The associations and correlations have shown this to be true. This is the aspect of direct influence on morale and is a useful empirical basis for prediction. The sociological environment is also influencing morale indirectly by providing the setting in which the individual organizes his habits, attitudes, and wishes. Culture defines the desirable goals and persons strive for them. We come

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closer to the prediction and explanation of morale as the wishes of individuals are identified and as their success in achieving goals is evaluated.

(2) A wide variety of sociological and social psychological factors are associated with morale. The evidence for the validity of this hypothesis is found in the 79 variables that have been identified as associated with men and the 59 variables now known to be associated with women.

(3) It is possible to predict the morale of any college trained adult within a range of the upper and lower quartiles if some of the major factors associated with morale can be identified. On the basis of the empirical data, 41 percent to 61 percent of the variation in the measured morale scores can be accounted for if the factors of our prediction table are known. The supplementary study which sought high prediction with a small number of factors reveals that 41 percent of the variation in the measured morale of men could be explained by six easily ascertained factors.

It is not possible, therefore, to predict the precise morale score of every college-trained adult. However, the prediction table can locate individuals in the upper and lower quartiles of measured morale well enough to place over one half of all high and low morale cases in their respective upper or lower quartile divisions. By counting the cases of high and low morale men in the upper and lower deciles, it can be seen that 8 out of 10 high and low morale men in the deciles of measured morale can be predicted as falling in the respective prediction quartiles. For the women, 7 out of 10 can be so located.

2. Implications for Social Action. This study has demonstrated the importance of the goals for which persons are striving as factors influencing morale. The success which the individual feels he is having in achieving his goals is a better index of morale than the structural nature of the social and physical conditions of his environment.

The change of physical and social conditions is not likely to alter morale unless such a change brings the individual closer to the achievement of those goals considered important to him. Action programs must constantly strive for an evaluation of the attitudes of those individuals affected by the suggested program. If higher morale is considered a value worth achieving, then a consideration of the wishes of a people is a necessity. The impulsive reformer may be surprised to find how slight his success is in pleasing people who have been given more or better material comforts but whose wishes for security, response, or recognition are denied. Furthermore, the data reveal that both actual needs and imagined needs are significant in determining morale. As W. I. Thomas has said, all felt needs are real to the individual. Social workers know this. Social reform must make provisions for such a fact.

THE USE OF VARIOUS METHODS OF CONTRACEPTION

JOHN WINCHELL RILEY AND MATILDA WHITE

New Jersey College for Women Market Research Corp. of America

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THE MARKET RESEARCH Corporation of America has released for analysis a series of data on the attitudes and practices of 3500 women in respect to fertility control. These materials are of interest chiefly because they cover an upper economic class about which little has previously been known; and because they avoid the main selection factors which

governed the sampling in earlier studies.

The need for such material is clear. To be sure, much has been written, on the one hand, about the declining birth rate and its economic and social consequences. On the other hand, clinical and laboratory researches have gone far in evaluating the potential effect on individual fertility of the various methods of control. The middle ground between these two fields of research, however, has received little attention. The connection between the birth rate and the effectiveness of the particular contraceptive practices is not clear. More specifically, the data are still incomplete on two vital points: first, the actual acceptance and practice of conception control in its different forms; and second, the extent to which such practice may be a factor in the changing birth rate. The first of these constitutes the subject of this paper.

Although the actual practice of family limitation is so little understood, this is due, on the whole, to the basic difficulty of studying the subject, rather than to any failure to recognize the need for such study. Indeed, the research which has been done and is being done on this point is both considerable and important. It is biased, however, and consequently unreliable to the extent of this bias, by its nature as testimony. Its data have consisted, in one form or another, of individual reports of reproductive history and contraceptive practice. As such research progresses, it perfects techniques for lessening the bias of testimony: mnemonic devices to aid the individual in reconstructing the past, and psychological tricks of indirection to probe through the subjective interpretation to the objective fact. Nevertheless, no matter how skillfully the method may be modified in such ways as these, it is still basically valid only insofar as it is possible for the subject's statements about herself and her history to be valid.

A usual way of breaking down the embarrassment which tends to color reports on this subject has been to conduct the interviews either at the time of clinical treatment, or subsequent to such treatment, or during the period of convalescence following childbirth, using doctors or nurses to do the questioning. The MRCA departed from this procedure, however, and collected their materials through their regular field investigators, who made

¹ In this case, the investigators were resident women, of widely differing backgrounds, trained in the technique of interviewing according to explicit instructions.

personal interviews in the women's homes. Their attempt to reach the facts in each case depended upon skillful questioning alone rather than upon any previously established confidence on the part of the subject. The wording and sequence of the questions asked were planned as a result of some 1600 preliminary test interviews. The final technique of approach was as follows.

The respondent was first questioned on her observance of birth control advertising, and was then asked, "Would you approve of straight-forward, tactful, inoffensive advertising of this type of product?" This question served to draw into a discussion of birth control the very women who were opposed to such discussion, and who would otherwise have been lost from the sampling. Such women, having given a negative response, were then asked how they thought such information should be made available, if not through advertising. In most cases, anxious to defend their stand, they were willing to answer and to proceed with the remainder of the interview. All respondents, whether or not they were opposed to such advertising, were next questioned on the sources of their own information. In this way, the personal experiential element was introduced late in the questioning, and followed so logically from the foregoing discussion that it was rarely perceptible to the respondent. Finally, the matter of methods was brought up, without any direct reference, however, to those actually used. The questions asked were: "Which method or combination of methods do you have most confidence in?"; "What do you think of this method in comparison with others?"; "What does your husband think of these methods?". These were followed by a series of questions on use and discontinuance of particular brands of products. In answering these questions, the respondent usually told what her own practice was, or made the inference quite clear.2

Thus, the method of conducting the investigation without apparent medical backing or connection does not appear to have prevented the securing of data. At the same time, it made possible the selection of respondents in accordance with criteria very different from those used in other studies of this type. These other samplings have been limited by the selection factors which induced women to seek medical advice in the first place; or, in the case of Pearl's material, by factors determining presence in the maternity wards of city hospitals. Unlike these, the Market Research Corporation's sampling was planned in advance with a definite distribution scheme.

The majority of the interviews (2568) were made with upper class married women in 30 cities throughout the country. Interviews were also made, for use in comparison, with 457 young single women in the same cities, and with 515 rural married women distributed throughout the country.³

The interviews were made in 30 cities,4 selected to represent different

² A proportion of the women called on, approximately 1 out of 20, refused to grant complete interviews. No attempt was made to compare those refusing with those answering.

These women lived both on farms and in small villages.
Philadelphia, Pa., Pittsburgh, Pa., Rochester, N.Y., Springfield, Mass., East Orange, N.J., Chester, Pa., Portsmouth, N.H., Lockport, N.Y., Williamsville, N.Y., Warren, N.Y.,

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community characteristics. They were divided roughly by geographic area, so that 34 percent were in the East, 18 percent in the South, 32 percent in the Midwest, and 16 percent in the Far West. Sixty-five percent of the interviews were made in cities of over 100,000 population, 24 percent in cities of 10,000 to 100,000, and 11 percent in cities under 10,000. The age distribution was limited to women under 45 years and was fairly representative of such women in the country as a whole, as Table 1 shows.

TABLE 1. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE USED BY MRCA

A Cl	MRCA Survey		U. S. Urban	
Age Classes	Number	Percent	Percent	
Under, 25	364	15	18	
25 to 34	1223	49	44	
35 to 45	906	36	38	
Total Reported	2493	100	100	

¹ These percentages are based on the U.S. Census for 1930, native white married women.

Economically, the interviews were limited to the upper middle class of the population. This class was divided into three strata, labelled "upper," "middle," and "lower" respectively. The three strata form a class which excludes the very top income class on the one hand, and all classes on the other hand which fall occupationally below the skilled labor or clerical class, or which have earnings of less than approximately \$1,000 a year. This selec-

Detroit, Mich., St. Louis, Mo., Des Moines, Iowa, Topeka, Kan., Grand Island, Nebr., Bloomington, Ind., Carlinville, Ill., Troy, Ohio, Atlanta, Ga., Tulsa, Okla., Amarillo, Texas, Monroe, La., Shawnee, Okla., Elizabeth, La., Hopeville, Ga., Los Angeles, Calif., Seattle, Wash., Denver, Colo., Albuquerque, N.M., Evanston, Wyo.

These distributions compare with the census distribution as follows:

D - 1 -1 - 77 1	MRCA Survey		U. S. Urban	
Population Units	Number	Percent	Percent	
Geographic Areas				
East	867	34	42	
South	464	18	16	
Midwest	823	32	32	
Far West	414	16	10	
Total	2568	100	100	
City Size			7	
Over 100,000	1659	65	53	
10,000 to 100,000	633	24	32	
Under 10,000	276	11	15	
Total	2568	100	100	

tion was based on the relative standard of living of each respondent within her own community, rather than on an income or rental rating.

TABLE 2. ECONOMIC STATUS OF MRCA RESPONDENTS

Economic Status	Number	Percent
Upper Middle	496	19
	880	34
Lower	1192	47
Total	2568	100

TABLE 3. RELIGION OF MRCA RESPONDENTS1

Religion	Number	Percent
Protestant	1803	71
Catholic	509	20
Jewish	509 169	7
Christian Scientist	46	2
Total	2527	100

¹ This distribution compares fairly closely with that for the country in the World Almanac.

TABLE 4. NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES AMONG MARRIED WOMEN IN MRCA SAMPLE1

	Rural Women Reporting		Urban Women Reporting	
Pregnancies	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0	54	11	609	24
1	119	23	670	26
2	118	23	670 652	26
3	85	17	302	12
4	61	12	165	7
5	26	5	. 63	2
6	22	4	41	2
7 and more	28	5	36	1
Total	512	100	2538	100

¹ Total of live births and miscarriages as reported by respondents.

Within these limitations, the sample was taken at random. Data on economic status, religion, and number of pregnancies are given in Tables 2, 3 and 4, and may be used to test its representativeness in respect to these factors. There are no data, however, on other potentially important factors, such as education and occupation.

The main virtue of this sampling lies in the fact that, unlike other samplings made for a similar purpose, it was not controlled in respect to such factors as clinical experience, rate of pregnancy, and so forth.

The results of this study are presented here in so far as they relate to the practice of fertility control. All results, with the exception of rural figures given under city-size breakdowns, are for urban married women only. The addition of rural figures to the urban would not have changed perceptibly the total relationship among methods used. Figures on single women with respect to actual use were not numerous enough to be presented. The extent of practice among urban married women is shown in Table 5.

TABLE C. EXTENT TO WHICH BIRTH CONTROL IS PRACTICED IN MRCA SAMPLING

		Geog	graphic	Area						
	Total Urban		East		South		Midwest		Far West	
Practices	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Do not practice Practice "simpler" methods	424	17	180	22	58	13	109	14	77	21
only¹ Practice other	436 1569	18 65	145 513	17 61	69 316	16 71	173 505	22 64	49 235	14 65
Total Respondents	2429	100	838	100	443	100	787	100	361	100

City Size

Practices	Total	Total Urban Over		and under		Rural		
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Do not practice Practice "simpler" methods	424	17	256	16	168	19	138	29
only Practice other	436 1569	18 65	252 1056	16 68	184 513	21 60	80 256	17 54
Total Respondents	2429	100	1564	100	865	100	474	100

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Economic Status²

D	Total	Urban	Upp	er	Midd	ile	Lov	wer
Practices	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Do not practice Practice "simpler" methods	423	17	72	16	152	18	199	18
only Practice other	433 1563	18 65	75 319	16 68	148 535	18 64	210 709	19 63
Total Respondents	2419	100	466	100	835	100	1118	100

^{1 &}quot;Simpler" methods comprise: coitus interruptus, safe period, and plain douche.

² Does not include 10 respondents who gave no information on economic status.

TABLE 5 .- Continued

		F	\ges					
Practices	Total	Urban	Unde	r 25	25 to	34	35 to	45
Fractices	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Do not practice Practice "simpler" methods	404	17	49	14	150	13	205	24
only	421	18	54	15	186	16	181	22
Practice other	1535	65	250	71	827	71	458	54
Total Respondents	2360	100	353	100	1163	100	844	100

Religion4

Practices	Total Urban		Protestant		Catholic		Jewish		Christian Science	
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Do not practice Practice "simpler" methods	417	17	281	17	110	23	17	10	9	20
only	428	18	244	14	163	34	10	6	11	24
Practice other	1544	65	1177	69	202	43	139	84	26	26
Total Respondents	2389	100	1702	100	475	100	166	100	46	100

⁸ Does not include 69 respondents who gave no information on age.

Does not include 40 respondents who gave no information on religion.

It is apparent from Table 5 that:

1. eighty-three percent attempt to control conception by some method;

2. that the practice of conception control tends to increase with size of city and with improving economic status, and to decrease with age;

3. that the practice is commoner among Protestants and Jews than among Catholics (although further analysis shows that as many as 43 percent of the Catholics interviewed used methods other than safe period, plain douche, or coitus interruptus);

4. that the difference among geographic areas seem to bear no logical relationship to other known differences among these areas, suggesting that geography itself is not a factor in use, and that the distribution of respondents within each area failed to show the determining factors, whatever they may be.

Among the 17 percent of respondents who were not contraceptors, it was possible to determine that 9 percent had no need for birth control, because of involuntary sterility, pregnancy, separation from their husbands, etc.; 3 percent stated that they did not approve of such practice; and 1 percent that they did not know any method to use. In 4 percent of the cases, it was impossible to ascertain the reason for not using contraception.

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If these results are compared with those of other studies, it appears that conclusions vary as to the extent of contraceptive practice. Himes lists twelve such studies. With two exceptions where the use was very low, the percentage of contraceptors in these samplings ranges from 59 percent to 93

TABLE 6. CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS USED IN MRCA SAMPLE

Method	Number	Percent Using
Antiseptic Douche	610	30
Alone	440	22
In combination	170	8
Spermicidal jelly	542	27
Alone	89	4
In combination	453	23
Diaphragm	429	21
Alone	58	3
In combination	371	18
Condom	399	20
Alone	329	16
In combination	70	4
Plain Douche	273	14
Alone	166	8
In combination	107	6
Safe Period	222	11
Alone	180	9
In combination	42	2
Suppository	122	6
Alone	82	4
In combination	40	2
Coitus Interruptus	104	5
Alone	90	4
In combination	14	1
Total Methods Used	2701	134
Total Contraceptors	2005	100

percent with an average at 89 percent.⁷ These figures represent, in most cases, the use of contraception at any time during preclinic history, in contradistinction to the MRCA data which are a cross section of customary action at a given time. If it is assumed that part of the 9 percent who reported no need had previously used some method of control, the present

Norman E. Himes, The Medical History of Contraception, 343, Baltimore, 1936.

⁷ The two exceptions were the series by Stopes and Pearl, recording 25 percent and 42.2 percent respectively, which Himes regarded as atypical.

figure on extent would not differ markedly from the results of the preclinical studies, in spite of the divergences of method and sampling.

The various contraceptive methods used are shown in Table 6.

Table 6 shows that among the 2005 urban respondents who used birth control, the leading methods practiced were antiseptic douche, spermicidal jelly, diaphragm, and condom. There is considerable overlapping among the methods listed here because of their frequent use in combination. One and one third methods were used per person on an average, in combination and at the same time. There is no duplication of methods for any individual case, however; that is, if a respondent reported that she alternated two methods or combinations of methods, only one of the alternates was tabulated. That alternate was counted which she used most frequently, or which she named first. Tables 7 to 11 show how the relative importance of these methods varies with the breakdowns used.

It is apparent from these tables that the notable factors are age, economic status, and religion, which show correlations with the use of jelly, diaphragm, and condom; application of all three of these methods is higher among the younger women than among the older ones; if economic groups are compared, jelly and diaphragm show a tendency to increase their importance in the upper classes, although condom does not show this tendency; use of jelly, diaphragm and condom, respectively, is highest among Jews and lowest among Catholics. It would seem logical to suppose that these tendencies are related to educational and cultural differences, which would be intercorrelated with age, economic status, and religion.

It is interesting to compare these results with those of previous studies. Knowledge of this subject up to now is well represented by the five sets of data collected respectively by Kopp, Stone, Pearl, Stix-Notestein, and Stix.9 These studies concur in naming douche, coitus interruptus, and condom as the three leading methods (although not always in this order). Indeed, these three invariably represent at least three quarters of all the methods employed in the five studies. If the MRCA data are rearranged to

⁸ The original data were tabulated to show the frequency with which each particular combination occurred, but the number of combinations was too large to be easily used in a comparative analysis.

* See: Marie D. Kopp, Birth Control in Practice. Analysis of Ten Thousand Case Histories of the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau, New York, 1934; Hannah M. Stone, "Maternal Health and Contraception: A Study of 2,000 Patients from the Maternal Health Center, Newark, N.J.," Med. J. and Record, New York, April 19, 1933 and May 3, 1933; Raymond Pearl, The Natural History of Population, New York 1939; R. K. Stix, and F. W. Notestein, "Effectiveness of Birth Control," Milbank Memorial Fund Quart., Jan. 1934 and Apr. 1935; R. K. Stix, "Birth Control in a Midwestern City," Milbank Memorial Fund Quart., Jan., Apr., and Oct. 1939.

The main data presented in the studies by Stix-Notestein, and Stix, represent the "proportion of exposure with contraception during which each type of contraception was used." Hence, the frequencies shown by them are more comparable with the frequencies in the MRCA cross-section of time data, than with those in the other historical data.

TABLE 7. METHODS OF CONTRACEPTION BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA IN MRCA SAMPLE

	Ea	st	So	uth	Mid-	West	Far-	West
Method	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Antiseptic Douche	144	22	180	47	186	27	100	35
Spermicidal Jelly	188	29	130	34	164	24	60	21
Diaphragm	180	27	46	12	135	20	68	24
Condom	185	28	57	15	111	16	46	16
Safe Period	90	14	24	6	84	12	24	8
Suppository	22	3	26	7	48	7	26	9
Plain Douche	70	11	60	16	113	17	30	11
Coitus Interrupțus	33	5	25	6	35	5	11	4
Total Methods Used	912	139	548	143	876	128	365	128
Total Contraceptors	658	100	385	100	678	100	284	100

TABLE 8. METHODS OF CONTRACEPTION BY CITY SIZE IN MRCA SAMPLE

	Over 1	00,000	100,000 a	nd Under	Rural		
Method	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct	
Antiseptic Douche	357	27	253	36	103	31	
Spermicidal Jelly	389	30	153	22	82	24	
Diaphragm	319	24	110	16	60	18	
Condom	289	22	110	16	61	18	
Safe Period	140	11	82	12	34	IC	
Suppository	72	6	50	7	31	9	
Plain Douche	164	13	109	16	32	10	
Coitus Interruptus	41	3	63	9	30	9	
Total Methods Used	1771	136	930	134	433	129	
Total Contraceptors	1308	100	697	100	336	100	

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TABLE 9. METHODS OF CONTRACEPTION BY AGE IN MRCA SAMPLE1

	Und	er 25	25-	34	35-45		
Method	Num.	Pct	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct	
Antiseptic Douche	96	32	271	27	229	36	
Spermicidal Jelly	95	31	314	31	123	19	
Diaphragm	81	27	236	23	104	16	
Condom	71	23	234	23	86	13	
Safe Period	31	10	100	10	82	13	
Suppository	14	5	68	7	38	6	
Plain Douche	29	10	126	12	111	17	
Coitus Interruptus	16	5	47	5	39	6	
Total Methods Used	433	143	1396	138	812	126	
Total Contraceptors	304	100	1013	100	639	100	

¹ These figures do not include 49 respondents for whom no age was given.

TABLE 10. METHODS OF CONTRACEPTION BY ECONOMIC STATUS IN MRCA SAMPLE

Method	Up	per	Mid	ldle	Lower		
Method	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct	
Antiseptic Douche	126	32	189	28	293	32	
Spermicidal Jelly	122	31	212	31	206	22	
Diaphragm	114	29	151	22	163	18	
Condom	71	18	135	20	192	21	
Safe Period	37	9	80	12	105	11	
Suppository	19	5	47	7	56	6	
Plain Douche	41	10	109	16	120	13	
Coitus Interruptus	22	6	21	3	61	7	
Total Methods Used	552	140	944	139	1196	130	
Total Contraceptors	394	100	683	100	919	100	

¹ Does not include 9 respondents who gave no information on economic status.

TABLE 11. METHODS OF CONTRACEPTION BY RELIGION IN MRCA SAMPLE1

Method	Protes	stant	Cath	olic	Jew	ish		stian nce ²
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Antiseptic Douche	467	33	95	26	29	19	11	_
Jelly	420	30	52	14	56	38	8	_
Diaphragm	316	22	46	13	59	40	5	_
Condom	277	19	44	12	60	40	8	_
Safe Period	75	5	140	38	2	1	2	_
Suppository	103	7	11	3	3	2	2	_
Plain Douche	203	14	45	12	9	6	9	_
Coitus Interruptus	74	5	24	7	3	2	2	-
Total Methods Used	1935	135	457	125	221	148	47	_
Total Contraceptors	1421	100	365	100	149	100	37	_

¹ These figures do not include 33 respondents who gave no information on religion.

show the relation of each method to all the different methods used, these three are seen to constitute only 51 percent. The percentage distribution in the MRCA study is as follows: Antiseptic Douche, 22; Plain Douche, 10; Coitus Interruptus, 4; Condom, 15; Jelly, 20; Diaphragm, 16; Safe Period, 8; Suppository, 5. The 2429 respondents used 3134 different methods, either alone or in combination with others (see Table 6). Jelly and diaphragm played little part in the other series but constitute 36 percent of all methods used by the MRCA respondents.

There are a number of circumstances which must be taken into account in considering these differences. In the first place, the method of selecting the MRCA subjects was random in some important respects, as compared with

² Percentages based on these figures would be meaningless.

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the methods applied to other published studies in this field. Previous analyses, with the exception of Pearl's, have been of preclinical data. In general, this may mean that the clinical group is heavily weighted with women who are dissatisfied with their present method of family limitation, either sexually, or for some other reason such as ineffectiveness. Selection according to either of these factors is undoubtedly correlated with various other psychological or social differences. Similarly, Pearl's sample is selective in that it consists only of women in maternity hospitals and contains a high proportion of Catholics. In the second place, the methods used by a group of women before they came to the clinic are bound to differ from the methods used by a random group only part of whom had had clinical or medical advice. In the third place, there is a distinct economic difference between the MRCA and the other samples. Of the Cincinnati sample used by Stix, for instance, one fourth of the respondents were on relief, and 78 percent of the nonrelief cases were classified as manual workers with a median income of less than \$1,100. Only 5 percent of the families had incomes of over \$2,000, and about 76 percent of the married women had worked before marriage, most of them in factory, clerical, or domestic positions. The New York sample analyzed by Stix and Notestein was apparently composed of patients from higher economic strata, yet among them 20 percent of the husbands were out of work, and 10 percent of the families were on relief. Pearl's series also came from a similarly low economic group. Of his sample, 12.3 percent were classified as very poor and 46.7 percent as poor. As Pearl himself states, a factor "that obviously influences the distribution of the present material relative to economic status is the fact that the great bulk of it came from the wards of hospitals."10 Of the wives in this sample, 61.6 percent had never got beyond elementary school. In the fourth place, a common practice in the previous studies was to list both the methods or combinations of methods used in those cases where two methods were alternated; thus, the number of methods per person tended to be higher. It is possible that coitus interruptus, may be a frequent alternate method, although as an alternate it would not be counted at all in the present data.

The relative importance of jelly and diaphragm in this study as compared with others seems logical. The reasons for the relatively slight use among the preclinical groups are self-evident. A postclinic study of these same groups would, of course, be expected to show increased use of jelly and diaphragm and a concomitant decline in the use of other methods. It is also reasonable that use of diaphragm and jelly should be small in Pearl's series, on two counts: first, the low economic status; and second, the fact that the subjects were in the main fertile women, which is presumably related in some respects to their contraceptive practice.

¹⁰ Op. cit., 186.

The results of earlier studies on the use of douche, condom, and coitus interruptus are compared with present results in Table 12.

TABLE 12. THE USE OF DOUCHE, CONDOM, AND Coitus Interruptus AS INDICATED BY SEVERAL SERIES

Series	Douche Percent of Use	Condom Percent of Use	Coitus Interruptus Percent of Use
Корр	21	25	30
Stone	34	23	30
Pearl	40	26	20
Stix-Notestein1	5	402	35
Stix	23	24	36
MRCA	32	15	4

¹ The Stix-Notestein series has been adjusted for comparison by treating individually the figures for condom and coitus interruptus, which had been combined in their analysis.

² Dr. Stix, in a comment on the present data, points to the relatively high use of the condom by Jewish respondents, as shown in Table 5, and compares this with the New York sample used by her and Dr. Notestein which was "heavily weighted with foreign-born Jewish and Catholic women. Two thirds of all the women in the sample were Jewish and over half of the women in the sample were foreign-born."

The use of the douche, as shown by earlier studies, it is not inconsistent with the present results. Indeed, the MRCA sample, upper class though it is, shows a high use of douche as compared with most other studies, if both plain and antiseptic douches are considered. Furthermore, there is evidence to support previous hypotheses that there is a negative correlation between the use of douche and economic status, since its use was reported by 42 percent of the upper class, 44 of the middle class, and 45 of the lower class.

Cautley and Beebe have approached the problem of the condom from several other points of view, especially in terms of the figures available from the manufacturers of condoms, and have concluded that the condom accounts for about 24 percent of all contraceptive practice. Thus the MRCA figure of 15 percent is at striking variance. Furthermore, the Pearl and the Stix series, which give economic breakdowns, show that the use of the condom increases with economic status. In Pearl's series, the percentages were: Very Poor, 22.3; Poor, 22.7; Moderate, 27.5; Well-to-do, 34.7. The Stix percentages were: Relief, 14.6; Manual Workers, 23.9; White-collar Class, 38.3. The present data, on the contrary, show a slight tendency in the other direction. Several hypotheses are suggested to explain this difference.

1. The use of the condom may tend to increase with economic status only

¹¹ With the exception of the Stix-Notestein figure. Dr. Stix, after reading an early draft of the present study, explained this exception as follows, "We did not include douche as a contraceptive method, when it was used as an adjunct to another method such as condom or withdrawal. This may account, to some extent for the discrepancy between our douche figures and yours, in both the New York and Cincinnati clinic studies."

up to a certain income level. In support of this hypothesis is the finding of previous studies that variations in use of the condom are related to the cost of the device itself. It is logical that if another device is available which costs even more and gives similar or increased satisfaction, its use might supplant that of the condom among those with the ability to pay for it.

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2. That private physicians in this country have done more to spread the use of the diaphragm and jelly than has hitherto been supposed, and consequently the clinics do not constitute the only agency tending "to counteract the spread of the condom culture trait..."

3. That the condom, from a sexual point of view, may not be a particularly satisfactory method of preventing conception (a moot point), thus giving the preclinical samples an undue proportion of condom users.¹³

4. That part of the use of the condom is undoubtedly by unmarried men, not represented in this present sample.

5. That there is a difference in frequency of *coitus* among economic classes. The greatest difference between the results of the present analysis and of previous studies is in the relative importance of *coitus interruptus*. Although none of the different series can be compared with any degree of assurance, there are logical possibilities of explaining this difference.

1. It might be argued that the present data are biased by the fact that many women do not consider withdrawal a form of birth control. The interview was opened in most cases with a question concerning the desirability or undesirability of advertising birth control products. This might have stimulated the respondent to think of some kind of device or equipment. There would seem to be no logical reason, however, for supposing that the respondents would mention the safe period in such numbers, but not withdrawal, if they were thinking primarily of mechanical methods of birth control.¹⁴

2. The widespread use of coitus interruptus among the earlier samples may have been related to the very selection factors which prompted presence in the clinic or the maternity ward. Coitus interruptus may be, from the sexual point of view, an unsatisfactory method of preventing conception, contributing to the overweighting of the clinical samples with sexually dissatisfied women. It is interesting to note in this connection that all of the preclinical figures are over 30 percent whereas Pearl's nonclinical figure is 10 points lower; although in the latter case there may be a possible connection between the effectiveness of coitus interruptus as a contraceptive method and inclusion in Pearl's sampling.

¹² Randolf Cautley, and Gilbert W. Beebe, "The Condom in Modern Contraceptive Practice: A Report from the National Committee on Maternal Health Inc., New York," *Marriage Hygiene*, Bombay, Aug. 1936, and Nov. 1936, 14.

¹³ See, however, the articles by Cautley and Beebe for a defense of the condom.

¹⁴ Dr. Notestein in a comment on these data, says "It takes considerable questioning to elicit the fact that withdrawal was depended on."

3. Indications have been found in previous studies of decrease in the use of coitus interruptus with rising economic status. Although this tendency does not appear within the relatively homogeneous group studied in the MRCA data, it offers logical substantiation for the fact that this upper class sample shows a lower percentage of coitus interruptus.

4. Coitus interruptus may be common as an alternate or secondary

method, which would not appear in the present analysis.

In conclusion, this survey holds a number of implications for further studies of this subject. In the first place, it has demonstrated the possibility of collecting data from groups of women selected according to prescribed principles of sampling. This allows much broader scope than has heretofore been recognized. It is on this ground alone that the present results can lay claim to wider applicability than earlier data on the points studied.

Second, in planning the distribution and analysis, there are other factors, not considered in the present study, which deserve notice. One of these, it has become evident through the implications of these results, is education. There are several other psychological, cultural, and experiential elements which might well be studied as possible factors in the use of contraception.

Finally, the basic question which must be raised in connection with all such studies relates to the validity of people's own reports of their sex history. It is a legal commonplace that an attempt to conceal even a small portion of the evidence biases the entire testimony of a witness. How, then, can reliable testimony be collected in a field which is bound up both consciously and subconsciously with emotional experiences, social taboos, and personal inhibitions? This is a question which must be carefully considered in the further development of method. The individual's report of her own history must be either supplanted or supplemented by another type of data. It is, for instance, possible to approach the matter by interviewing men, as well as women, in order to compare one person's testimony with another. Questioning the same families over a period of time, to take another example, can be used to overcome the effect of the memory factor. This approach, of course, has the weaknesses of any panel technique.

Until such improvements in method have been perfected, however, the MRCA results would appear to be a contribution to knowledge in this field.

SITUATED ACTIONS AND VOCABULARIES OF MOTIVE*

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C. WRIGHT MILLS
University of Wisconsin

The MAJOR reorientation of recent theory and observation in sociology of language emerged with the overthrow of the Wundtian notion that language has as its function the "expression" of prior elements within the individual. The postulate underlying modern study of language is the simple one that we must approach linguistic behavior, not by referring it to private states in individuals, but by observing its social function of coordinating diverse actions. Rather than expressing something which is prior and in the person, language is taken by other persons as an indicator of future actions.

Within this perspective there are suggestions concerning problems of motivation. It is the purpose of this paper to outline an analytic model for the explanation of motives which is based on a sociological theory of language and a sociological psychology.²

As over against the inferential conception of motives as subjective "springs" of action, motives may be considered as typical vocabularies having ascertainable functions in delimited societal situations. Human actors do vocalize and impute motives to themselves and to others. To explain behavior by referring it to an inferred and abstract "motive" is one thing. To analyze the observable lingual mechanisms of motive imputation and avowal as they function in conduct is quite another. Rather than fixed elements "in" an individual, motives are the terms with which interpretation of conduct by social actors proceeds. This imputation and avowal of motives by actors are social phenomena to be explained. The differing reasons men give for their actions are not themselves without reasons.

First, we must demarcate the general conditions under which such motive imputation and avowal seem to occur. Next, we must give a characteriza-

^{*} Revision of a paper read to The Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, August 16-17, 1940.

August 16-17, 1940.

¹ See C. Wright Mills, "Bibliographical Appendices," Section I, 4: "Sociology of Langauge" in *Contemporary Social Theory*, Ed. by Barnes, Becker & Becker, New York, 1940.

² See G. H. Mead, "Social Psychology as Counterpart of Physiological Psychology," Psychol. Bul., VI: 401-408, 1909; Karl Mannheim, Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction, New York, 1940; L. V. Wiese-Howard Becker, Systematic Sociology, part I, New York, 1932; J. Dewey, "All psychology is either biological or social psychology," Psychol. Rev., vol. 24: 276

^a The importance of this initial task for research is clear. Most researches on the verbal level merely ask abstract questions of individuals, but if we can tentatively delimit the situations in which certain motives may be verbalized, we can use that delimitation in the construction of situational questions, and we shall be testing deductions from our theory.

tion of motive in denotable terms and an explanatory paradigm of why certain motives are verbalized rather than others. Then, we must indicate mechanisms of the linkage of vocabularies of motive to systems of action. What we want is an analysis of the integrating, controlling, and specifying function a certain type of speech fulfils in socially situated actions.

The generic situation in which imputation and avowal of motives arise, involves, first, the social conduct or the (stated) programs of languaged creatures, i.e., programs and actions oriented with reference to the actions and talk of others; second, the avowal and imputation of motives is concomitant with the speech form known as the "question." Situations back of questions typically involve alternative or unexpected programs or actions which phases analytically denote "crises." The question is distinguished in that it usually elicits another verbal action, not a motor response. The question is an element in conversation. Conversation may be concerned with the factual features of a situation as they are seen or believed to be or it may seek to integrate and promote a set of diverse social actions with reference to the situation and its normative pattern of expectations. It is in this latter assent and dissent phase of conversation that persuasive and dissuasive speech and vocabulary arise. For men live in immediate acts of experience and their attentions are directed outside themselves until acts are in some way frustrated. It is then that awareness of self and of motive occur. The "question" is a lingual index of such conditions. The avowal and imputation of motives are features of such conversations as arise in "question" situations.

Motives are imputed or avowed as answers to questions interrupting acts or programs. Motives are words. Generically, to what do they refer? They do not denote any elements "in" individuals. They stand for anticipated situational consequences of questioned conduct. Intention or purpose (stated as a "program") is awareness of anticipated consequence; motives are names for consequential situations, and surrogates for actions leading to them. Behind questions are possible alternative actions with their terminal consequences. "Our introspective words for motives are rough, shorthand descriptions for certain typical patterns of discrepant and conflicting stimuli."5

The model of purposive conduct associated with Dewey's name may briefly be stated. Individuals confronted with "alternative acts" perform one or the other of them on the basis of the differential consequences which they anticipate. This nakedly utilitarian schema is inadequate because: (a) the "alternative acts" of social conduct "appear" most often in lingual form,

On the "question" and "conversation," see G. A. DeLaguna, Speech: Its function and Development, 37 (and index), New Haven, 1927. For motives in crises, see J. M. Williams, The Foundations of Social Science, 435 ff, New York, 1920.

K. Burke, Permanence and Change, 45, New York, 1936. I am indebted to this book for several leads which are systematized into the present statement.

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as a question, stated by one's self or by another; (b) it is more adequate to say that individuals act in terms of anticipation of named consequences.

Among such names and in some technologically oriented lines of action there may appear such terms as "useful," "practical," "serviceable," etc., terms so "ultimate" to the pragmatists, and also to certain sectors of the American population in these delimited situations. However, there are other areas of population with different vocabularies of motives. The choice of lines of action is accompanied by representations, and selection among them, of their situational termini. Men discern situations with particular vocabularies, and it is in terms of some delimited vocabulary that they anticipate consequences of conduct. Stable vocabularies of motives link anticipated consequences and specific actions. There is no need to invoke "psychological" terms like "desire" or "wish" as explanatory, since they themselves must be explained socially.7 Anticipation is a subvocal or overt naming of terminal phases and/or social consequences of conduct. When an individual names consequences, he elicits the behaviors for which the name is a redintegrative cue. In a societal situation, implicit in the names for consequences is the social dimension of motives. Through such vocabularies, types of societal controls operate. Also, the terms in which the question is asked often will contain both alternatives: "Love or Duty?", "Business or Pleasure?" Institutionally different situations have different vocabularies of motive appropriate to their respective behaviors.

This sociological conception of motives as relatively stable lingual phases of delimited situations is quite consistent with Mead's program to approach conduct socially and from the outside. It keeps clearly in mind that "both motives and actions very often originate not from within but from the situation in which individuals find themselves..." It translates the question of "why" into a "how" that is answerable in terms of a situation and its typal vocabulary of motives, i.e., those which conventionally accompany that type situation and function as cues and justifications for normative actions in it.

It has been indicated that the question is usually an index to the avowal and imputation of motives. Max Weber defines motive as a complex of meaning, which appears to the actor himself or to the observer to be an adequate ground for his conduct.¹⁰ The aspect of motive which this concep-

⁶ See such experiments as C. N. Rexroad's "Verbalization in Multiple Choice Reactions," Psychol. Rev., Vol. 33: 458, 1926.

⁷ Cf. J. Dewey, "Theory of Valuation," Int. Ency. of Unified Science, New York, 1939.

K. Mannheim, Man and Society, 249, London, 1940.

⁹ Conventionally answerable by reference to "subjective factors" within individuals. R. M. MacIver, "The Modes of the Question Why," J. of Soc. Phil., April, 1940. Cf. also his "The Imputation of Motives." Amer. J. Social., July 1940.

[&]quot;The Imputation of Motives," Amer. J. Sociol., July 1940.

10 Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 5, Tubingen, 1922, "'Motiv' heisst ein Sinnzusammenhang, Welcher dem Handelnden selbst oder dem Beobachtenden als sinnhafter 'Grund' eines Verhaltens in dem Grade heissen, als die Beziehung seiner Bestandteile von uns nach den durch-

tion grasps is its intrinsically social character. A satisfactory or adequate motive is one that satisfies the questioners of an act or program, whether it be the other's or the actor's. As a word, a motive tends to be one which is to the actor and to the other members of a situation an unquestioned answer to questions concerning social and lingual conduct. A stable motive is an ultimate in justificatory conversation. The words which in a type situation will fulfil this function are circumscribed by the vocabulary of motives acceptable for such situations. Motives are accepted justifications for present, future, or past programs or acts.

To term them justification is not to deny their efficacy. Often anticipations of acceptable justifications will control conduct. ("If I did this, what could I say? What would they say?") Decisions may be, wholly or in part,

delimited by answers to such queries.

A man may begin an act for one motive. In the course of it, he may adopt an ancillary motive. This does not mean that the second apologetic motive is inefficacious. The vocalized expectation of an act, its "reason," is not only a mediating condition of the act but it is a proximate and controlling condition for which the term "cause" is not inappropriate. It may strengthen the act of the actor. It may win new allies for his act.

When they appeal to others involved in one's act, motives are strategies of action. In many social actions, others must agree, tacitly or explicitly. Thus, acts often will be abandoned if no reason can be found that others will accept. Diplomacy in choice of motive often controls the diplomat. Diplomatic choice of motive is part of the attempt to motivate acts for other members in a situation. Such pronounced motives undo snarls and integrate social actions. Such diplomacy does not necessarily imply intentional lies. It merely indicates that an appropriate vocabulary of motives will be utilized—that they are conditions for certain lines of conduct.¹¹

When an agent vocalizes or imputes motives, he is not trying to describe his experienced social action. He is not merely stating "reasons." He is influencing others—and himself. Often he is finding new "reasons" which will mediate action. Thus, we need not treat an action as discrepant from "its" verbalization, for in many cases, the verbalization is a new act. In such cases, there is not a discrepancy between an act and "its" verbalization, but a difference between two disparate actions, motor-social and verbal.¹² This additional (or "ex post facto") lingualization may involve appeal to a vocabulary of motives associated with a norm with which both members of the

schnittlichen Denk- und Gefühlsgewohnheiten als typischer (wir pflegen in sagen: 'richtiger') Sinzusammenhang bejaht Wird."

¹² See F. Znaniecki, Social Actions, 30, New York, 1936.

¹¹ Of course, since motives are communicated, they may be lies; but, this must be proved. Verbalizations are not lies merely because they are socially efficacious. I am here concerned more with the social function of pronounced motives, than with the sincerity of those pronouncing them.

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situation are in agreement. As such, it is an integrative factor in *future* phases of the original social action or in other acts. By resolving conflicts, motives are efficacious. Often, if "reasons" were not given, an act would not occur, nor would diverse actions be integrated. Motives are common grounds for mediated behaviors.

Perry summarily states the Freudian view of motives "as the view that the real motives of conduct are those which we are ashamed to admit either to ourselves or to others." One can cover the facts by merely saying that scruples (i.e., moral vocabularies of motive) are often efficacious and that men will alter and deter their acts in terms of such motives. One of the components of a "generalized other," as a mechanism of societal control, is vocabularies of acceptable motives. For example, a business man joins the Rotary Club and proclaims its public-spirited vocabulary. If this man cannot act out business conduct without so doing, it follows that this vocabulary of motives is an important factor in his behavior. The long acting out of a role, with its appropriate motives, will often induce a man to become what at first he merely sought to appear. Shifts in the vocabularies of motive that are utilized later by an individual disclose an important aspect of various integrations of his actions with concomitantly various groups.

The motives actually used in justifying or criticizing an act definitely link it to situations, integrate one man's action with another's, and line up conduct with norms. The societally sustained motive-surrogates of situations are both constraints and inducements. It is a hypothesis worthy and capable of test that typal vocabularies of motives for different situations are significant determinants of conduct. As lingual segments of social action, motives orient actions by enabling discrimination between their objects. Adjectives such as "good," "pleasant," and "bad" promote action or deter it. When they constitute components of a vocabulary of motives, i.e., are typical and relatively unquestioned accompaniments of typal situations, such words often function as directives and incentives by virtue of their being the judgments of others as anticipated by the actor. In this sense motives are "social instruments, i.e., data by modifying which the agent will be able to influence [himself or others]."16 The "control" of others is not usually direct but rather through manipulation of a field of objects. We influence a man by naming his acts or imputing motives to them—or to "him." The motives accompanying institutions of war, e.g., are not "the causes" of war, but they do promote continued integrated participation, and they vary from one

¹⁸ General Theory of Value, 292-293, New York, 1936.

¹⁴ Ibid., 392.

¹⁵ The "profits motive" of classical economics may be treated as an ideal-typical vocabulary of motives for delimited economic situations and behaviors. For late phases of monopolistic and regulated capitalism, this type requires modification; the profit and commercial vocabularies have acquired other ingredients. See N. R. Danielian's AT & T, New York, 1940, for a suggestive account of the noneconomic behavior and motives of business bureaucrats.

¹⁶ Social Actions, 73.

war to the next. Working vocabularies of motive have careers that are woven through changing institutional fabrics.

Genetically, motives are imputed by others before they are avowed by self. The mother controls the child: "Do not do that, it is greedy." Not only does the child learn what to do, what not to do, but he is given standardized motives which promote prescribed actions and dissuade those proscribed. Along with rules and norms of action for various situations, we learn vocabularies of motives appropriate to them. These are the motives we shall use, since they are a part of our language and components of our behavior.

The quest for "real motives" supposititiously set over against "mere rationalization" is often informed by a metaphysical view that the "real" motives are in some way biological. Accompanying such quests for something more real and back of rationalization is the view held by many sociologists that language is an external manifestation or concomitant of something prior, more genuine, and "deep" in the individual. "Real attitudes" versus "mere verbalization" or "opinion" implies that at best we only infer from his language what "really" is the individual's attitude or motive.

Now what could we possibly so infer? Of precisely what is verbalization symptomatic? We cannot infer physiological processes from lingual phenomena. All we can infer and empirically check¹⁷ is another verbalization of the agent's which we believe was orienting and controlling behavior at the time the act was performed. The only social items that can "lie deeper" are other lingual forms. The "Real Attitude or Motive" is not something different in kind from the verbalization or the "opinion." They turn out to be only relatively and temporally different.

The phrase "unconscious motive" is also unfortunate. All it can mean is that a motive is not explicitly vocalized, but there is no need to infer unconscious motives from such situations and then posit them in individuals as elements. The phrase is informed by persistence of the unnecessary and unsubstantiated notion that "all action has a motive," and it is promoted by the observation of gaps in the relatively frequent verbalization in everyday situations. The facts to which this phrase is supposedly addressed are covered by the statements that men do not always explicitly articulate motives, and that all actions do not pivot around language. I have already indicated the conditions under which motives are typically avowed and imputed.

Within the perspective under consideration, the verbalized motive is not used as an index of something in the individual but as a basis of inference for a typal vocabulary of motives of a situated action. When we ask for the

¹⁷ Of course, we could infer or interpret constructs posited in the individual, but these are not easily checked and they are not explanatory.

¹⁸ Which is not to say that, physiologically, there may not be cramps in the stomach wall or adrenalin in the blood, etc., but the character of the "relation" of such items to sociol action is quite moot.

"real attitude" rather than the "opinion," for the "real motive" rather than the "rationalization," all we can meaningfully be asking for is the controlling speech form which was incipiently or overtly presented in the performed act or series of acts. There is no way to plumb behind verbalization into an individual and directly check our motive-mongering, but there is an empirical way in which we can guide and limit, in given historical situations, investigations of motives. That is by the construction of typal vocabularies of motives that are extant in types of situations and actions. Imputation of motives may be controlled by reference to the typical constellation of motives which are observed to be societally linked with classes of situated actions. Some of the "real" motives that have been imputed to actors were not even known to them. As I see it, motives are circumscribed by the vocabulary of the actor. The only source for a terminology of motives is the vocabularies of motives actually and usually verbalized by actors in specific situations.

Individualistic, sexual, hedonistic, and pecuniary vocabularies of motives are apparently now dominant in many sectors of twentieth-century urban America. Under such an ethos, verbalization of alternative conduct in these terms is least likely to be challenged among dominant groups. In this milieu, individuals are skeptical of Rockefeller's avowed religious motives for his business conduct because such motives are not now terms of the vocabulary conventionally and prominently accompanying situations of business enterprise. A medieval monk writes that he gave food to a poor but pretty woman because it was "for the glory of God and the eternal salvation of his soul." Why do we tend to question him and impute sexual motives? Because sex is an influential and widespread motive in our society and time. Religious vocabularies of explanation and of motives are now on the wane. In a society in which religious motives have been debunked on rather wide scale, certain thinkers are skeptical of those who ubiquitously proclaim them. Religious motives have lapsed from selected portions of modern populations and other motives have become "ultimate" and operative. But from the monasteries of medieval Europe we have no evidence that religious vocabularies were not operative in many situations.

A labor leader says he performs a certain act because he wants to get higher standards of living for the workers. A business man says that this is rationalization, or a lie; that it is really because he wants more money for himself from the workers. A radical says a college professor will not engage in radical movements because he is afraid for his job, and besides, is a "reactionary." The college professor says it is because he just likes to find out how things work. What is reason for one man is rationalization for another. The variable is the accepted vocabulary of motives, the ultimates of discourse, of each man's dominant group about whose opinion he cares. Determination of such groups, their location and character, would enable delimitation and methodological control of assignment of motives for specific acts.

Stress on this idea will lead us to investigations of the compartmentaliza-

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"Apo which them answ tion of operative motives in personalities according to situation and the general types and conditions of vocabularies of motives in various types of societies. The motivational structures of individuals and the patterns of their purposes are relative to societal frames. We might, e.g., study motives along stratified or occupational lines. Max Weber has observed:

... that in a free society the motives which induce people to work vary with ... different social classes. ... There is normally a graduated scale of motives by which men from different social classes are driven to work. When a man changes ranks, he switches from one set of motives to another. 19

The lingual ties which hold them together react on persons to constitute frameworks of disposition and motive. Recently, Talcott Parsons has indidicated, by reference to differences in actions in the professions and in business, that one cannot leap from "economic analysis to ultimate motivations; the institutional patterns always constitute one crucial element of the problem."²⁰ It is my suggestion that we may analyze, index, and guage this element by focusing upon those specific verbal appendages of variant institutionalized actions which have been referred to as vocabularies of motive.

In folk societies, the constellations of motives connected with various sectors of behavior would tend to be typically stable and remain associated only with their sector. In typically primary, sacred, and rural societies, the motives of persons would be regularly compartmentalized. Vocabularies of motives ordered to different situations stabilize and guide behavior and expectation of the reactions of others. In their appropriate situations, verbalized motives are not typically questioned. In secondary, secular, and urban structures, varying and competing vocabularies of motives operate coterminously and the situations to which they are appropriate are not clearly demarcated. Motives once unquestioned for defined situations are now questioned. Various motives can release similar acts in a given situation. Hence, variously situated persons are confused and guess which motive "activated" the person. Such questioning has resulted intellectually in such movements as psychoanalysis with its dogma of rationalization and its systematic motive-mongering. Such intellectual phenomena are underlaid

¹⁹ Paraphrased by K. Mannheim, op. cit., 316-317.

^{20 &}quot;The Motivation of Economic Activities," 67, in C. W. M. Hart, Essays in Sociology, Toronto, 1940.

n Among the ethnologists, Ruth Benedict has come up to the edge of a genuinely sociological view of motivation. Her view remains vague because she has not seen clearly the identity of differing "motivations" in differing cultures with the varied extant and approved vocabularies of motive. "The intelligent understanding of the relation of the individual to his society ... involves always the understanding of the types of human motivations and capacities capitalized in his society ... "Configurations of Culture in North America," Amer. Anthrop., 25, Jan.—Mar. 1932; see also: Patterns of Culture, 242-243, Boston, 1935. She turns this observation into a quest for the unique "genius" of each culture and stops her research by words like "Apollonian." If she would attempt constructively to observe the vocabularies of motives which precipitate acts to perform, implement programs, and furnish approved motives for them in circumscribed situations, she would be better able to state precise problems and to answer them by further observation.

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by split and conflicting sections of an individuated society which is characterized by the existence of competing vocabularies of motive. Intricate constellations of motives, for example, are components of business enterprise in America. Such patterns have encroached on the old style vocabulary of the virtuous relation of men and women: duty, love, kindness. Among certain classes, the romantic, virtuous, and pecuniary motives are confused. The asking of the question: "Marriage for love or money?" is significant, for the pecuniary is now a constant and almost ubiquitous motive, a common denominator of many others.²²

Back of "mixed motives" and "motivational conflicts" are competing or discrepant situational patterns and their respective vocabularies of motive. With shifting and interstitial situations, each of several alternatives may belong to disparate systems of action which have differing vocabularies of motives appropriate to them. Such conflicts manifest vocabulary patterns that have overlapped in a marginal individual and are not easily compartmentalized in clear-cut situations.

Besides giving promise of explaining an area of lingual and societal fact, a further advantage of this view of motives is that with it we should be able to give sociological accounts of other theories (terminologies) of motivation. This is a task for sociology of knowledge. Here I can refer only to a few theories. I have already referred to the Freudian terminology of motives. It is apparent that these motives are those of an upper bourgeois patriarchal group with strong sexual and individualistic orientation. When introspecting on the couches of Freud, patients used the only vocabulary of motives they knew; Freud got his hunch and guided further talk. Mittenzwey has dealt with similar points at length.²³ Widely diffused in a postwar epoch, psychoanalysis was never popular in France where control of sexual behavior is not puritanical.²⁴ To converted individuals who have become accustomed to the psychoanalytic terminology of motives, all others seem self-deceptive.²⁵

In like manner, to many believers in Marxism's terminology of power, struggle, and economic motives, all others, including Freud's, are due to hyprocrisy or ignorance. An individual who has assimilated thoroughly only business congeries of motives will attempt to apply these motives to all situations, home and wife included. It should be noted that the business terminology of motives has its intellectual articulation, even as psychoanalysis and Marxism have.

It is significant that since the Socratic period many "theories of motiva-

²² Also motives acceptably imputed and avowed for one system of action may be diffused into other domains and gradually come to be accepted by some as a comprehensive portrait of *the* motive of men. This happened in the case of the economic man and his motives.

²² Kuno Mittenzwey, "Zur Sociologie der psychoanalystischer Erkenntnis," in Max Scheler, ed. Versuche zu einer Sociologie des Wissens, 365-375, Munich, 1924.

²⁴ This fact is interpreted by some as supporting Freudian theories. Nevertheless, it can be just as adequately grasped in the scheme here outlined.

²⁵ See K. Burke's acute discussion of Freud, op. cit., Part I.

tion" have been linked with ethical and religious terminologies. Motive is that in man which leads him to do good or evil. Under the aegis of religious institutions, men use vocabularies of moral motives: they call acts and programs "good" and "bad," and impute these qualities to the soul. Such lingual behavior is part of the process of social control. Institutional practices and their vocabularies of motive exercise control over delimited ranges of possible situations. One could make a typal catalog of religious motives from widely read religious texts, and test its explanatory power in various denominations and sects.²⁶

In many situations of contemporary America, conduct is controlled and integrated by hedonistic language. For large population sectors in certain situations, pleasure and pain are now unquestioned motives. For given periods and societies, these situations should be empirically determined. Pleasure and pain should not be reified and imputed to human nature as underlying principles of all action. Note that hedonism as a psychological and an ethical doctrine gained impetus in the modern world at about the time when older moral-religious motives were being debunked and simply discarded by "middle class" thinkers. Back of the hedonistic terminology lay an emergent social pattern and a new vocabulary of motives. The shift of unchallenged motives which gripped the communities of Europe was climaxed when, in reconciliation, the older religious and the hedonistic terminologies were identified: the "good" is the "pleasant." The conditioning situation was similar in the Hellenistic world with the hedonism of the Cyrenaics and Epicureans.

What is needed is to take all these terminologies of motive and locate them as vocabularies of motive in historic epochs and specified situations. Motives are of no value apart from the delimited societal situations for which they are the appropriate vocabularies. They must be situated. At best, socially unlocated terminologies of motives represent unfinished attempts to block out social areas of motive imputation and avowal. Motives vary in content and character with historical epochs and societal structures.

Rather than interpreting actions and language as external manifestations of subjective and deeper lying elements in individuals, the research task is the locating of particular types of action within typal frames of normative actions and socially situated clusters of motive. There is no explanatory value in subsuming various vocabularies of motives under some terminology or list. Such procedure merely confuses the task of explaining specific cases. The languages of situations as given must be considered a valuable portion of the data to be interpreted and related to their conditions. To simplify these vocabularies of motive into a socially abstracted terminology is to destroy the legitimate use of motive in the explanation of social actions.

²⁸ Moral vocabularies deserve a special statement. Within the viewpoint herein outlined many snarls concerning "value-judgments," etc., can be cleared up.

THE DRUG ADDICT AS A PSYCHOPATH

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THE PURPOSE of this article is to criticize what is no doubt the most widely accepted theory of drug addiction today. The significance of this critique is increased because it deals with topics of general methological relevance and because the viewpoint criticized is often assumed with respect to other forms of human behavior than drug addiction.

The "accepted" theory which will be criticized holds that people become addicts because they are inferior or abnormal and because the drug offers them an artificial support or a means of escape from their problems. A typical expression of this view is found in H. E. Barnes' recent book:

It is now definitely demonstrated that the most serious cases of drug addiction are the result of neurotic conditions, namely mental and nervous disorders growing out of deep seated mental conflicts in the individual. The narcotic drug produces a sense of euphoria or well being which temporarily removes the sufferer from his mental conflicts and fears.¹

This statement from Barnes is typical, but the terminology used by various authors is sometimes different. The central idea is that prior to becoming addicts, people are distinguished from the general population by having more than their share of traits which may be taken as evidence of abnormality, weakness, psychopathy, etc. It is frequently assumed tacitly that any trait which distinguishes addicts from nonaddicts must *ipso facto* be an indication of abnormality. In popular opinion, the same view is expressed in the often repeated assertion that addicts have "weak wills" and that this is proved by the fact that the individual uses the drug.

This theory has certain limitations which are at once obvious. It is not specific and is therefore unverifiable. No considerable proportion of abnormal persons (however defined) become addicts, and the fact that in any particular case, abnormality has not led to addiction therefore cannot be taken into account. Moreover, this same explanation has been presented as an explanation of other phenomena, e.g., crime and alcoholism. A theory which purports to explain several different types of phenomena at once with no alteration in form usually explains none of them.

The term "drug addict" will be used in this article to refer exclusively to users of opiate drugs, that is, to users of morphine, opium, and heroin. The use of drugs such as marihuana or cocaine presents an entirely different problem from that of opiate abuse. An indication of the vagueness and all-inclusiveness of the theory being criticized here is the fact that its proponents often have not bothered to exclude any kind of drug in their definitions

¹ Harry Elmer Barnes, Society in Transition, 806-7, New York, 1939.

of drug addiction. Sandor Radó has invented the term "pharmacothymia" for a kind of disease entity which consists of the desire to ingest drugs in any form.2 Used in this way, the term is an omnibus category referring to many different things rather than to one specific thing. It is necessary to delimit the meaning of this word, for not only is the clinical picture of opiate addiction entirely distinct, but in the social life of the underworld, opiate users constitute a separate class which has little to do socially with other types of drug users. The user of marihuana and the user of opiates ordinarily do not associate with each other or feel that they have anything in common, even though according to Radó they are both supposed to be afflicted with the same disease of "pharmacothymia." For the purposes of precise communication, words must refer to one thing at a time. It is a serious error to confound or equate morphine addiction with anything like coffee drinking, tobacco smoking, alcoholism, or the chronic use of aspirin.

The literature on drug addition contains so many statements like the one quoted from Barnes that one would expect to find a mass of evidence supporting this generally accepted conclusion, but no such mass of evidence exists, and the confidence with which the assertion is made, reflects, not the evidence, but the number of times the assertion has been made. The main factual support of these conclusions is found in the work of two men, Dr. Lawrence Kolb and Dr. C. Schultz. Both conclude that most addicts are abnormal before becoming addicted. Kolb put the percentage at 86 and Schultz put it at about 87 in an independent study.

The first point to be noted about the theories of these two men is that neither of them claim that abnormality is always the cause of addiction, but only that it usually is. Both admit that normal individuals do sometimes become addicts. It may be very useful and important to know that 86 percent of American addicts are abnormal before becoming addicts, assuming that this is true, but from the standpoint of scientific theory such a truth has little significance, for it is precisely the 14 percent of those who are admittedly normal who constitute the most important problem. This is especially true in view of the assumption that the underworld consists mainly of psychopathic persons. Since most addicts belong to the underworld (in the United States), it requires explanation that any considerable percentage of them could be normal at all. Most of the writers who accept the theory under consideration, ignore the problem of accounting for addiction in this group of persons, who, according to the criteria set up, are "normal." Sometimes these cases are dismissed with a sentence or two or are simply called "accidental." A few writers have maintained that those addicts who

² Sandor Radó, "The Psychoanalysis of Pharmacothymia," Psychoanal. Quart., vol. 2,

<sup>1933.

1933.</sup>Types and Characteristics of Drug Addicts," Mental Hygiene, IX, 1925; "Drug Addictional Psychiat. X, 1928, 171-82; C. tion: A Study of Some Medical Cases," Arch. of Neurol. and Psychiat., X, 1928, 171-83; C. Schultz, "Report of the Mayor's Committee to the Hon. Richard C. Patterson, Jr., Commissioner of Correction, New York City," Amer. J. Psychiat., X, 1930-31.

seemed to be normal before addiction really were not normal at all but had only succeeded in concealing their weaknesses and abnormalities, and so concluded that all addicts were abnormal. By the same logic and method, all human beings can be shown to be abnormal.

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The studies of Kolb and Schultz represent the best available evidence in support of the theory here being criticized, yet in neither case did these authors use or even mention control groups. If abnormality is assigned as the cause of addiction, it is implied that there is more abnormality among addicts than among those who do not become addicts. It is meaningless to say that 86 percent of a given class of addicts are abnormal before addiction if the same criteria of abnormality are not applied to the nonaddict population to permit comparison. There is no study available to support the theory under consideration which makes adequate use of control groups. On these grounds alone, the conclusions are not supported by the evidence.

It is possible to argue that abnormality in the general population would certainly not run as high as 86 or 87 percent and that these studies therefore do have some significance, even though control groups were not used, if they have actually shown that abnormality is that frequent among drug addicts. It should be noticed, however, that while the authors attempt to draw conclusions about addicts "prior to addiction," they actually studied addicts only after addiction—and in many cases, after many years of addiction. Some of their cases had used the drug for more than thirty years. They do not tell us how those traits which were the result of addiction were separated from those that were causes of addiction. They therefore had no direct information about the "addict prior to addiction" which is what they attempt to generalize about.

When one examines the categories into which addicts were classified in order to establish the conclusions cited, further difficulties make their appearance. Kolb, e.g., in articles cited above, has the following classes:

- 1. Normals (14 percent) who are accidentally or necessarily addicted in the course of medical practice;
 - 2. Carefree individuals, devoted to pleasure, seeking new sensations (38 percent);
- 3. Definite neuroses (13.5 percent);
- 4. Habitual criminals (13 percent) "always psychopathic"; and finally,
- 5. Inebriates (21.5 percent).

The largest category, including 38 percent of the cases, is the most poorly defined consisting of "carefree persons devoted to pleasure, seeking new sensations." It is impossible to tell what is meant by such a description. Many persons seek to be carefree; all of us, we suppose, are devoted to pleasure; and W. I. Thomas regarded the wish for new experience as a common human trait. It is to be noted that Kolb assumes that all professional criminals are psychopathic, an assumption which most criminologists would question. In attempts to show that criminality is produced by abnormality or psychopathy, it is assumed that all drug addicts are psychopathic.

Dr. Schultz gives a fuller description of his categories than Kolb does. He classified 318 addicts into the following seven classes.

1. Normal (13.2 percent). In 13.2 percent of the patients treated, little or no evidence could be elicited of psychopathic personality other than the drug addiction per se.

2. Inadequate personalities (30 percent). While the majority in this group were probably psychopathic types before using the drug, there were some who appeared

to have been fairly normal.

3. Emotional instability (20 percent). Here there is a question as to whether the instability was present before or came as a result of the addiction.

4. Criminalism (13 percent). The dominant feature here is seen to be profound

5. Paranoid personality (9 percent). In this type we find conceit and suspicion and a stubborn adherence to a fixed idea.

6. Nomadism (8 percent). The nomadic or wandering tendency is present in

7. Homosexuality (6 percent).4

In this classification, Schultz like Kolb has the largest percentage of abnormals in the most poorly defined class, "inadequate personality." In the second and third classes, he admits that the trait in question may have followed rather than preceded the addiction. These two classes include 50 percent of the cases. His statement about Class 4 is simply a partial definition of criminality and does not tell why these persons are regarded as abnormal. The last three classes are relatively insignificant in the sense that together they include only 23 percent of the cases. In addition the so-called nomadism and paranoia might very well be consequences rather than causes of addition. The proportion of homosexuality is close to what one would expect in any class of people. In spite of this author's admission that some of his classes include addicts who were probably normal before addiction, he takes no account of this in stating his final conclusion, that 86.8 percent of the addicts of his sample were abnormal prior to addiction.

It is known that some persons who receive drugs in hospitals become addicts while others under the same conditions do not. This has often been explained by arguing that those who are of psychopathic predisposition become addicts while those who are normal do not. However, when a medical man who accepted this theory gave a patient of his a great deal of morphine saying it was not dangerous since the man was not a psychopath, he was solemnly warned by another authority who held the same view that one could not tell whether a person was psychopathic or not and that morphine had, therefore, to be given carefully to everyone. A much simpler explanation of this fact that some individuals in the hospital situation become addicts while others do not, is that those who do not have been successfully kept in ignorance of the nature of the withdrawal distress or of the drug which they were given. This explanation is corroborated by the claims now being made by medical men that it is unnecessary to make addicts in

⁴ The comments on these classes are by Schultz. See article referred to above.

⁸ E. Meyer, "Ueber Morphinismus, Kokainismus, und den Missbrauch anderer Narkotica," Medizinische Klinik, XX, 1924, 403-7.

Cf. A. R. Lindesmith, "A Sociological Theory of Drug Addiction," Amer. J. Sociol., 1938, 48: 593-613.

medical practice even though the patient is psychopathic or neurotic and has to be given the drug for a long time. The techniques used to prevent addiction in such cases are directed toward preventing the patient from ob-

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taining knowledge of what is happening to him.7

Two mutually contradictory views are often held concerning addicts. One is that the addict becomes what he is because of abnormality, and the other is that anyone can become an addict provided only that he takes or is given the drug. This contradiction is brought out in the remarks made to the author by a narcotic agent. He explained that addicts do not get a "kick" out of the drug, that they are "normal" under its influence. When asked why they used the drug, he was puzzled for a moment and then said, "It's because they are weaklings."

The next question was, "Would you or I become addicts if we took morphine steadily for a couple months?"

"Absolutely," he said.

"Would we be like all the rest of them, or would we quit it?"

"We'd be like any other addict. There's no cure for it. Once they're

hooked, they always come back to it."

A basic consideration which only can be mentioned here is the assumption that an explanation of addiction ever can be found by such a procedure as the theory under consideration implies—that is, by comparing the ferquency with which a given trait appears in the addict population with its frequency in the nonaddict population. Statisticians usually insist that such a correlation in itself has no causal significance whatever. In the study of crime, positive correlations between poverty and crime and between low I. Q.'s and certain types of crimes have been found but no conclusions concerning causal relationships have been established by these facts.

On the basis of the evidence actually presented by Kolb and Schultz and by other scholars, the only conclusion which appears to be warranted is that virtually nothing is known about the addict prior to addiction. Terry and Pellens agree with this after their excellent survey of the evidence.8

Finally, a word may be said about viewing the use of morphine as an escape mechanism. It is not entirely clear just what an "escape mechanism" is. The term is one of the popular clichés of psychiatric literature and, like other such terms, is used with more confidence than precision. However, assuming that the meaning is that a drug user forgets his sorrows and his inferiorities by stupefying himself with drugs as an alcoholic does with whiskey, then this conception is entirely wrong. The use of opiates in the beginning, for a month or so, may have escape value in this sense, but after that, such is far from being the case. The person who, let us assume, takes the drug to escape a problem, will find, when he has become addicted, that he still has the original problem plus one even more serious—namely, the

Terry and Pellens, The Opium Problem, 513-16, New York, 1938.

⁷ Cf. Report of Departmental Committee on Morphine and Heroin Addiction to the Ministry of Health, London, 1926.

opiate habit and all that it involves. His difficulty then would be to find an escape from the habit. During addiction, the user of morphine has insight into the miseries and difficulties which are involved in addiction. He does not spend his time in a dreamy stupor as sensational literature sometimes depicts him. In short, the belief that a man can achieve, by becoming an addict, the same thing that he can achieve by getting drunk is a delusion. for, as a rule, the drug addict does not even maintain the delusion of being carefree and happy. He is, as a plain fact, ordinarily a miserable and harassed person, as all who know addicts are aware.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, it appears that the theory under consideration is not actually supported by any evidence, and that even if it were, it would still not be a satisfactory theory from the point of view of the etiology of opiate addiction. In view of the weaknesses of the theory and in view of the lack of evidence, how is one to account for the confidence of Barnes and the general acceptance of this viewpoint? The idea of the control group has been well known for many years but was not used in these studies. In spite of this fact, the studies appear to have carried conviction. It seems probable to the writer that the conclusions were not actually based upon the evidence, but were rather independent expressions of attitudes assumed toward addicts. Long before the two studies we have discussed were made, the general public spoke of addicts as weaklings. Addicts, to a greater or lesser extent, always have been a pariah class which has not been in a position to refute any charges levelled against it. Apparently it gives people some kind of secret satisfaction to call names when they cannot understand. We regard the use of such terms as psychopathic, neurotic, weak-willed, degenerate, abnormal, etc., as the representation of an emotional attitude toward the drug user since no research has demonstrated that they are grounded in objective fact. The modern "scientific" theory is, in short, merely a reflection and a rephrasing of old folk attitudes and is, in this sense, moralistic. It did not grow out of any body of tested evidence.

This conclusion is corroborated by other arguments. Drug addiction, it is said, is prevalent in the underworld because there is a large proportion of psychopaths in the underworld. However, Kurt Pohlisch, in a reliable statistical study, found that doctors in Germany were addicts 100 times oftener in proportion to their numbers than the rest of the population. It is well known that the medical profession is relatively often affected by addiction. According to the logic of the position we are discussing, this should lead to the conclusion that abnormality, neuroticism, etc., are much more frequent among medical men than in the general population. However, probably because of the prestige enjoyed by the medical man, this uncomplimentary conclusion has not been drawn. Instead, it is said that the doctor becomes addicted because of the availability of the drug and because of the fatigue connected with irregular hours. But both of these conditions

⁹ Kurt Pohlisch, "Die Verbreitung des Chronischen Opiatmissbrauchs in Deutschland," Monatschrift für Psychiatrie und Neurologie, LXXIX, 1931, Pt. I, 1-32.

apply equally well to the underworld character who leads an irregular life and has the drug made available to him by the fact that the underworld handles the illicit traffic in drugs. It is much more tempting to call the underworld character a psychopath than to call a reputable physician by that derogatory name.

The same tendency to permit an attitude of disapproval to enter into presumably objective analysis is evident in the unspoken assumption found in studies along these lines, that any trait which distinguishes addicts from nonaddicts is *ipso facto* a criterion of abnormality. Hooton has recently made the same error in his study of the anthropometric characteristics of criminals. Addicts are said to become addicted because they have feelings of frustration, lack self-confidence and need the drug to bolster themselves up. Lack of self-confidence is taken as a criterion of psychopathy or of weakness. But another person becomes addicted, it is said, because of "curiosity" and a "willingness to try anything once" and this too is called abnormal. Thus, self-confidence and the lack of self-confidence are both signs of abnormality. The addict is evidently judged in advance. He is damned if he is self-confident and he is damned if he is not.

It seems more reasonable to suppose that whatever selective influences are at work are much more blind and accidental in character than is usually assumed. The same trait may lead to results that would be called good in one case and bad in another. Thus "curiosity" leads some people to become experimental scientists and leads others to try morphine and become addicts. There is no evidence to indicate that any personality type whatever in any part of the social hierarchy is immune to addiction. In the United States, it is relatively prevalent in the underworld and secondarily in the medical and allied professions. In England and Germany, the great majority of addicts (opiate) comes from the medical class and from the middle classes, not from the underworld. In Formosa, the working classes are mainly affected. The theory under consideration is unable to account for such variations in the incidence of addition unless one is to assume that abnormality is concentrated in the underworld in one country, in the working classes in another, in the middle classes in another, and so on.

It is the contention of that branch of sociology known as Wissenssoziologie, or the sociology of knowledge, that scientific research is often influenced and determined by extratheoretical considerations. This is presumably less true of the physical and biological sciences than it is of the social. This analysis has shown that "scientific" theories of drug addiction may be more adequately understood in terms of the emotional attitudes they express than in terms of the evidence. Theories of drug addiction reflect the unfavorable prestige position of addicts in the class hierarchy. A similar analysis would probably apply to other stigmatized minority groups.

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CHANGES IN REGIONAL AND URBAN PATTERNS OF POPULATION GROWTH*

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THE PATTERN of population growth in the United States during the past ten years differs significantly from that of previous decades. In the past, the rate of growth has been large (never less than 15 percent), the urban population has always grown at a much faster rate than the rural, and in most decades the northeastern states have grown more rapidly than the southern states. Our ideas must now be adjusted to a new and different pattern of growth in these respects. Many other important differences can only be guessed at as yet, since it will be several months before other Census figures than the total number of persons in various political units will be available for most parts of the nation.

From 1930 to 1940, the growth of the nation as a whole was barely 7 percent, less than half that of the preceding decade which in turn was only three fourths of that of the decade 1900–10 and less than half that of the period before the Civil War. In absolute numbers, the increase (8,635,000) was just over half that of 1920–30 and less than that shown by any Census since 1860. Moreover, for the first decade since 1820 (when the count of immigrants began), the increase came entirely from the excess of births over deaths. Instead of a net immigration, the net emigration was about 46,000.

The growth of some Divisions shows certain marked variations from the general pattern hitherto prevailing. For example, the Middle Atlantic Division grew faster than the remainder of the nation from 1890 to 1930, although during the decade of World War I, it barely outran the nation (see Table 1). In the 1930's, however, its rate was less than two thirds of the national average, with most of the gain limited to New York City and contiguous New York counties. The other two Divisions north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi also grew less rapidly than the nation. Taken as a whole, these three northeastern Divisions contained 48.6 percent of the total population in 1930, but drew only 31.4 percent of the 1930–40 increase, hence, had only 47.5 percent of the total population in 1940 (see Table 2). This is the most rapid decline in the proportion of the total population living in these Divisions since the decade 1900–10 when their growth was eclipsed by the very rapid settlement of the Southwest and the Far West.

In contrast to these three northeastern Divisions, the South Atlantic and East South Central Divisions, which had not attained the national average rate of growth for several decades, grew much faster than the nation from

^{*} These comparisons are based upon the 1930 Census reports and the releases of the 1940 Census available up to November, 1940.

1930 to 1940. The large increases in these Divisions occurred in Florida (28.6 percent) and in the District of Columbia (36.2 percent) but even the smallest increase (7.0 percent in Alabama) equalled the national average.

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Table 1. Rate (Percentage) of Population Increase by Divisions, 1900 to 19401

Divisions	Rate of Increase Rate in Percent		t of U.S.	t of U.S. Rate				
Divisions	1930-40	1920-30	1910-20	1900-10	1930-40	1920-30	1910-20	1900-10
United States	7.0	16.1	14.9	21.0	100	100	100	100
New England	3.2	10.3	12.9	17.2	46	64	87	82
Middle Atlantic	4.4	18.0	15.2	25.0	63	112	102	119
East North Central	5.0	17.8	17.7	14.2	71	III	119	68
West North Central	1.5	6.0	7.8	12.5	21	37	52	60
South Atlantic	12.6	12.9	14.7	16.8	180	80	99	80
East South Central	8.9	11.2	5.7	11.4	127	70	38	54
West South Central	7.2	18.9	16.6	34.5	103	117	111	164
Mountain	11.5	11.0	26.7	57.3	164	68	179	273
Pacific	18.2	47.2	32.8	73.5	260	293	220	350

1 Source, U. S. Census Reports.

The reasons for these changes are many and complex but a few of the outstanding factors may be mentioned: (1) the cessation of immigration during the past decade cut off one of the chief sources of increase in the

Table 2. Proportion (Percentage) of Population and of Population Increase in Each Division, 1900-1940¹

Divisions	F	roporti	on of I	opulati	on	Proportion of Population Increase			
Divisions	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900	1930-	1920- 30	1910-	1900-
United States	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
New England	6.4	6.7	7.0	7.1	7.4	3.1	4.5	6.2	6.0
Middle Atantic	20.9	21.4	21.1	21.0	20.3	13.6	23.4	21.4	24.2
East North Central	20.2	20.6	20.3	19.8	21.0	14.7	22.4	23.5	14.2
West North Central	10.3	10.8	11.9	12.7	13.6	2.3	4.4	6.6	8.1
South Atlantic	13.5	12.9	13.2	13.3	13.7	23.3	10.6	13.1	11.0
East South Central	8.2	8.1	8.4	9.1	9.9	10.3	5.8	3.5	5.4
West South Central	9.9	9.9	9.7	9.6	8.6	10.3	11.3	10.6	14.1
Mountain	3.1	3.0	3.2	2.9	2.2	5.0	2.1	5.1	6.0
Pacific	7.4	6.7	5.3	4.6	3.2	17.5	15.4	10.0	11.1

¹ Source, U. S. Census Reports.

northeastern states; (2) during the depression, the attraction of the North and East to the young people in other regions was not sufficient to draw them to this area in any large numbers, and, therefore, the South held a

higher proportion than usual of its large natural increase; (3) Florida attracted a large number of people, partly because of its development as a winter resort, and partly because its mild climate reduces living expenses; and (4) the growth of the activities of the federal government drew large numbers of people to Washington and vicinity so that not only did Washington have the largest rate of growth of any city of over 400,000 but adjacent counties in Maryland and Virginia received a large overflow.

The West North Central Division continued to rank low in growth, in part because of the large losses of population in Dust Bowl counties. Many of these migrants went West and helped to give the Pacific Division the

highest rate of growth.

The third, but perhaps the most important change in the pattern of population growth during the decade 1930-40 concerns urban and rural areas. The 12 cities which had over 500,000 inhabitants in 1920 grew 3,881,-000 (23.7 percent) between 1920 and 1930. In contrast, the 13 cities of 500,000 and over in 1930 grew only 762,000 (3.7 percent) between 1930 and 1940 (see Table 3). Moreover, during this last decade, two cities alone supplied nearly all of the growth in this group—New York, 450,000, and Los Angeles, 259,000, with Detroit and Baltimore together supplying 99,000. The other nine cities in the group remained almost stationary, six losing slightly and three gaining slightly. Considering the four cities which gained substantially it is interesting to note the role which natural increase and migration played in each case. Los Angeles had an excess of births over deaths of only about 22,800, and obtained over 90 percent of its growth from net migration. In Baltimore, migration contributed about 40 percent of the increase, and in New York about 34 percent. Detroit alone had a net outmigration, its gain being but a little over one third of its natural increase.1

The 24 cities of 250,000-500,000 show a considerably more rapid gain than the larger cities, viz., 6.4 percent, but this is still only about two fifths of their 1920-30 rate. In this group, also, two cities—Washington, D. C., and Houston, Texas—accounted for the major part of the gain although not for as large a proportion as did New York and Los Angeles in the preceding group. Other cities which had a growth well above the average for this group are Memphis, New Orleans, Atlanta, Dallas, Denver, and Oakland, all in the Far West or South. At the other extreme, five cities in this group, all north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, lost almost 55,000. These losses exceeded the gains of the other northeastern cities of this size. In the South and Far West, on the other hand, all such cities grew, but four out

¹ The figures for these four cities would be changed somewhat if it were possible to tabulate births and deaths for the decade by place of residence instead of occurrence.

² Throughout the discussion of *growth* by size of community, cities are classified in size groups according to their population at the beginning of the decade. The growth of each size group is determined by subtracting the population of the cities at the beginning of the decade from the population of the *same* cities at the end of the decade.

of 12 grew so slowly that they may be said to have remained stationary. In general, the same pattern of growth is presented by the cities of 100,000 to 250,000 as by the preceding group. The total gain in population in this

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Table 3. Number of Cities and Rate of Increase or Decrease of Population, by Size Classes and by Divisions, 1930-401

					S	ize of (City in	1930					
Divisions	500,000 and over		250,000- 499,999			,999	50,000- 99,999		25,000- 49,999		1	10,000- 24,999	
	Num- ber of Cities	Per- cent Gain											
United States	13	3.7	24	6.4	56	4.3	98	4.2	185	6.3	606	8.:	
Cities gaining	7	5.5	10	8.9	35	8.1	64	8.5	130	0.0	441	12.0	
Cities losing	6	-1.2	5	-3.4	21	-2.1	34	-3.7	46	-3.3	165	-4.	
New England	1	-1.5	1	0.1	11	-0.8	12	1.1	30	2.2	78	5.1	
Cities gaining	-		1	0.1	4	0.7	6	3.0	21	5.4	58	8.0	
Cities losing	x	-1.5	-	-	7	-1.7	6	-1.6	9	-3.7	20	-3.5	
Middle Atlantic	4	4.3	3	-3.1	11	-o.1	23	-1.1	35	x.3	162	3.5	
Cities gaining	2	6.0	-	3	5	2.1	12	3.2	18	6.0	OI	9.0	
Cities losing	2	-0.8	3	-3.1	6	-1.8	11	-5.4	17	-3.9	71	-4.8	
East North Central	4	0.7	5	1.0	10	0.5	25	1.7	53	3.5	121	5.8	
Cities gaining	3	1.3	3	3.4	5	4.4	13	5.5	38	5.8	OI	8.8	
Cities losing	1	-2.4	2	-3.9	5	-3.0	12	-2.8	15	-2.1	30	-3.3	
West North Central	1	-1.0	3	3.7	5	3.8	7	4.6	11	0.8	62	6.9	
Cities gaining	_	-	3	3.7	3	6.0	6	6.0	0	12.6	42	11.5	
Cities losing	1	-1.0	-	-	2	-o.8	1	-6.5	2	-2.3	20	-4.8	
South Atlantic	1	6.x	2	27.5	6	18.1	14	0.3	18	14.8	50	17.8	
Cities gaining	I	6.I	2	27.5	6	18.1	12	11.0	18	14.8	45	20.	
Cities losing	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-0.5	-	-	5	-2.0	
East South Central	-	-	3	6.5	3	7.4	3	9.4	7	9.4	32	17.1	
Cities gaining	-		3	6.5	3	7.4	2	16.4	7	9.4	20	18.6	
Cities losing	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-5.0	-	-	3	-3.8	
West South Central	-	_	3	15.8	5	6.0	7	16.1	11	17.5	42	11.	
Cities gaining	-	-	3	15.8	4	7.7	6	19.8	II	17.5	33	15.	
Cities losing	-	-	-	-	1	-5.6	I	-10.6	-	-	9	-5.	
Mountain	-	-	1	10.6	1	7.0	1	3.4	7	14.1	17	21.	
Cities gaining	-	-	1	10.6	1	7.0	1	3.4	6	18.0	16	23.0	
Cities losing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-6.5	1	-12.	
Pacific	2	13.6	3	2.9	4	16.2	6	13.6	13	13.1	42	16.	
Cities gaining	1	20.9	3	2.9	4	16.2	6	13.6	11	16.0	36	21.	
Cities losing	1	-0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-4.3	6	-15.	

¹ Source, U. S. Census Reports. It is assumed that the 14 cities having over 10,000 population in 1930 but less than 10,000 in 1940 had 9,500 in 1940.

group was 4.3 percent as compared with 20.2 percent in the decade 1920-30. The cities of this class north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi lost about 6,000 with 14 gaining a total of about 45,000 and 18 losing a total of

about 51,000. In the West North Central Division, such cities gained a total of about 26,000 (three cities gaining, and one losing). In the southern and western states, only one city out of a total of 19 in this class, lost population. The net gain in this region for this group of cities was 308,000, as against 20,000 in the remainder of the nation. Gary, Des Moines and Dayton were the only cities east of the Missouri river that grew faster than the national average for the class.

In the next smaller group (50,000-100,000), the larger gains are also found in the southern and far western cities. Among the 60 cities in this size group which were north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, 31 gained in population while 29 lost; in the West North Central Division, six gained while one lost; and in the South and Far West, 27 gained while four lost. The net result was that only about one seventh of the growth in this size group took place in the northern and eastern cities (including those in the West North Central Division) although they contained over two thirds of the people living in such cities. The growth of this group as a whole, was only 4.2 percent, that of the northern cities being 0.9 percent, and that of the southern and far western cities being 11.5 percent.

The cities of 25,000-50,000 in the South and Far West, also gained more rapidly during this last decade than those in the North and East. The former absorbed almost two thirds of the total gain in this group although they had less than one third of its total population in 1930. In the North and East, 86 cities in this size group gained population while 43 lost. In the South and Far West, on the other hand, 53 gained and only three lost population. As a group, however, these cities, like the larger cities, did not attain the national rate of growth of 7 percent. Their gain was 6.3 percent, approximately the same as for cities of 250,000-500,000.

Finally, small cities—those having from 10,000-25,000 inhabitants—had a higher rate of growth (8.2 percent) than the larger cities, and also than the nation as a whole. Here, too, the larger rates of gain were in the South and Far West, about 58 percent of the group's gain going to these regions although they had less than one third of the group's population in 1930. In the North and East, 282 cities of this size gained in population while 141 lost. In the South and Far West, however, only 24 lost population while 159 gained.

The 1940 Census figures are not yet available for individual cities of less than 10,000, nor for the rural nonfarm and rural farm populations of each state, but it is known that these three groups as a whole gained about 8.6 percent during the 1930's compared with 5.2 percent for places of 10,000 and over. If the farm population increased 5.2 percent (the same rate as the

^{*} Fourteen of the smaller cities over 10,000 in 1930 lost population and fell below 10,000 in 1940. Since the 1940 Census data have not yet been released for these cities, it has been assumed that they averaged 9,500 in 1940. The numerical and percentage growth for the group as a whole is affected but little by this assumption.

"rural counties"),4 there was a gain of 11.5 percent in the rural nonfarm population and in places of 2,500 to 10,000 combined. The relative growth of these two groups cannot be foretold accurately, but the indications are

that the rural nonfarm population had the higher rate.

During decades prior to 1930, significant changes occurred in the distribution of population by size of community, the percent rural declining steadily and the percent in each size group of cities rising substantially. During the 1930's, however, these trends were checked abruptly. In 1940, as in 1930, the rural population was 43.8 percent and the urban population 56.2 percent of the total. Within the latter group, cities of over 500,000 and of 2,500 to 25,000 maintained their 1930 percentages almost unchanged (17 percent and 16.1 percent, respectively). In contrast, the proportion of the population in cities of 100,000 to 500,000 declined from 12.6 percent to 11.9 percent. Only cities of 25,000 to 100,000 gained in relative population, their percentage of the national total rising from 10.5 to 11.2. In other words, the more rapid growth of the rural areas and small cities (mentioned above) was almost exactly balanced by the shifts from rural to urban of places passing the 2,500 mark, and the shifts of small cities to the next larger category.

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Counties, like cities, differed widely in population growth during the 1930's but small gains occurred less frequently in counties, and large rates of loss much more frequently. For example, 34.1 percent of the cities over 10,000 had a gain between zero and 7 percent, compared with 28.7 percent of the counties, and only 3.7 percent of the cities lost more than 7 percent compared with 14.3 percent of the counties. As would be expected from the preceding analysis of Divisions and cities, the large gains of counties oc-

curred most frequently in the South and the Far West.

If counties are divided on the basis of the cities they contain, the picture becomes more clear. The groups used here are "urban" counties, i.e., counties containing a city of 10,000 or over in 1930 or within 10 miles of a city of 100,000, and "rural" counties, i.e., counties not classed as "urban." As would be expected, high rates of gain occurred relatively more frequently among the "urban" counties than the "rural," 21.6 percent of the "urban" increasing 15 percent or more as against 17.3 percent of the "rural" (see Table 4). In contrast, large losses occurred much more frequently among the "rural" counties, 17.1 percent of them losing 7 percent or more compared with 4.3 percent of the "urban." In fact, of the 439 counties losing 7 percent or more, 410 were "rural" counties. Consideration of the numbers of people involved in each group of counties emphasizes the foregoing comparison. Of the 560 counties gaining 15 percent or more, the 145 "urban"

⁴ In Farm Population Estimates, January 1, 1940, released July 1940 by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA, it is estimated that the farm population increased 6.9 percent.
⁵ In discussing the distribution of population by size of community, places are classified according to their population in the current Census. For the proportions rural and urban in 1940, see Leon E. Truesdell, Preliminary Figures from the 1940 Census, Population Index, Vol.

6, No. 4, October 1940. 244.

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Table 4. Number and Proportion of "Urban" and "Rural" Counties with Various Rates (Percentages) of Increase or Decrease of Population 1930 to 1940, United States and Divisions¹

			Prop	portion o	of Coun	ties		
	Number		Increa	sing		Dec	reasing	
Area	of Counties	25.0 Pct. or over	15.0 Pct. to 24.9	7.0 Pct. to 14.9	Zero Pct. to 6.9	Zero Pct. to 6.9	7.0 Pct. to 14.9	Pct. or over
United States								
"Urban" Counties	671	8.8	12.8	28.8	33.5	11.8	3.7	0.6
"Rural" Counties	2404	7.8	9.4	19.0	27.3	19.4	10.2	6.9
New England								
"Urban" Counties	39	_		38	44	18	_	-
"Rural" Counties	28	-	-	18	43	29	11	-
Middle Atlantic								
"Urban" Counties	96	1	4	24	49	21	1	-
"Rural" Counties	54	2	4	28	44	22	-	-
East North Central								
"Urban" Counties	152	3	9	28	52	8	1	_
"Rural" Counties	284	3	9	24	48	19	-	-
West North Central								
"Urban" Counties	91	2	7	27	29	24	10	1
"Rural" Counties	530	2	4	10	19	25	23	16
South Atlantic								
"Urban" Counties	101	18	21	39	21	2	_	_
"Rural" Counties	454	7	13	21	30	22	8	_
East South Central								
"Urban" Counties	45	7	27	33	24	9	_	
"Rural" Counties	319	7 5	11	32	37	14	1	_
West South Central								
"Urban" Counties	68	12	10	24	22	10	10	
"Rural" Counties	402	8	13	14		21	15	4
Rurai Counties	402	°	13	14	19	21	13	11
Mountain		-						
"Urban" Counties	32	28	22	22	9	9	9	-
"Rural" Counties	247	23	13	18	14	10	10	12
Pacific			-					
"Urban" Counties	47	30	30	21	13	4	2	-
"Rural" Counties	86	34	12	19	21	7	5	3

¹ Source, U. S. Census Reports. "Urban" counties are those which had a city of 10,000 or over in 1930, or which were within 10 miles of a city of 100,000 or over. All other counties are classified as "Rural."

counties had more than twice as many persons as the 415 "rural" counties; but of the 619 counties losing 15 percent or more, the 165 "rural" counties

had nearly 7 times as many persons as the 4 "urban" counties.

Almost without exception, "urban" counties with rapidly growing cities had large gains themselves. In addition, many "urban" counties whose cities grew but little had large gains resulting from suburban developments. In both cases, however, the rates of gain outside the cities usually were larger than those of the cities. In the nation as a whole, cities of 10,000 and over in 1930 gained 3,017,000 (5.2 percent) during the decade; the "urban" counties gained 6,480,000 (7.8 percent); the parts of these counties outside the cities gained 3,463,000 (13.9 percent); and the "rural" counties gained 2,048,000 (5.2 percent). These "suburban" areas thus grew at a rate nearly three times that of their cities and of the "rural" counties. Since much more information about the "suburban" areas will be available from the Census tabulations of metropolitan districts, these will be awaited with keen interest.

Most of the "rural" counties which decreased 7 percent or more are located in a wedge-shaped area extending roughly from central Montana to Sweetwater, Texas, then northeast to Kansas, and north to Canada. Much of this area is the "Dust Bowl," from which drought and wind have driven thousands of people since 1930. Furthermore, in all of this area, a less spectacular but highly important change has stimulated out-migration, namely, the continued increase in labor efficiency in agriculture. This development undoubtedly has been an important cause of the relatively large population losses which occurred in certain of the other "rural" counties, several of which are located in the good farming areas of the Texas Black Lands and of north central Missouri.

The "rural" counties which increased 15 percent or more are chiefly in the South and West. Some of them owe their rapid growth to such local events as the opening of an irrigation project, the discovery of oil, or the development of a resort area. On the other hand, there are a great many whose growth cannot be accounted for by such increases in their capacity to support people. A large part of them are found in the Appalachian highlands, in cutover regions in Michigan, Minnesota, and the South, in the swampy areas of the Gulf coast, in the western Ozarks, and in mountainous areas of the Far West. The attraction of these poorer agricultural areas to these new pioneers seems to consist largely in the presence of a little tillable land and of woods providing shelter and fuel in return for their labor. These resources and some outside work enable them to eke out a meager existence.

Changes in Age Composition. Among the more interesting changes taking place in the composition of our population are those in age. It will be several months before the Census can complete the age tabulations, but the total population can now be distributed quite accurately by broad age groups (see Table 5). Although the population as a whole gained over 8.6 millions, the number of children under 15 years of age declined about 3.6 millions. This has meant a reduction of about 10 percent in the number of potential pupils of elementary and junior high schools during the decade.

Youngsters of senior high school and college age and newcomers in the labor market (who make up the 15-24 age group) increased about 8 percent,

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TABLE 5. POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE BY AGE PERIODS, 1930-1940

A	Population (thousands)		Increase or Decrease		
Age Period	19401	19302	Number (thousands)	Percent	
0-14	32,484	36,086	-3,602	-10.0	
15-24	24,185	22,439	1,746	7.8	
25-44	39,618	36,181	3,437	9.5	
45-64 65+	26,704	21,431	5,273	24.6	
65+	8,419	6,638	1,781	26.8	
Total	131,410	122,775	8,635	7.0	

¹ Source, 1940 U. S. Census, preliminary count of the total population distributed by age according to estimates of the Scripps Foundation.

² Source, 1930 U. S. Census, with persons of unreported age distributed proportionately.

or slightly above the national average. This growth is much below that in earlier decades and will hardly explain the increase in the number of high school and college students, nor their difficulties in finding jobs.

The most important group in the population both from the standpoint of its labor power and its reproduction is that between 25 and 44 years old. This group had a large increase between 1930 and 1940, namely, about 3.44 millions or 9.5 percent. As a result, these people make up 30.1 percent of the 1940 population compared with 29.5 percent in 1930. Thus, both the productive and the reproductive capacity of the population increased slightly during the 1930's.

The largest absolute increase of all, about 5.27 millions or 24.6 percent, occurred among the middle-aged (45-64). This is the group which is said to have had increasing difficulty in finding places in our industrial plants and commercial establishments. No doubt its rapid growth has aggravated the already serious problems of retraining older workers for new tasks.

Finally, the older people (65 and over), had the largest relative increase of any group (26.8 percent). These elders, like the middle-aged, are still increasing as rapidly as did the entire nation 50 years ago. Furthermore, they will continue to increase at about this rate for the next two or three decades. Since most persons over 65 are not entirely self-supporting, it is interesting to compare the change in this group with that of children under 15, most of whom are entirely dependent on others. These children decreased 3.6 millions from 1930 to 1940 while the elders increased 1.8 million, less than half as much. The burden of dependency due to the age make-up of the population was thus lightened considerably during the 1930's.

Altogether, the more rapid growth of the South than of the Northeast, the increasing proportion of the population in the smaller cities and the suburban areas, the rapid declines in certain rural sections and increases in others, and the shifts in age composition, represent a pattern of population growth different in important respects from that of the recent past. Significant and difficult adjustments in our social and economic life will be required to meet these developments.

A STATISTICAL TEST OF CAUSAL SIGNIFICANCE

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Hans von Hentig University of Colorado

The WIDESPREAD distrust of social statistics rests upon the experience that the most contradictory results are deduced from identical data by so-called experts. The public sees continuously that statistical figures, by whatever methods they may be gathered, are handled carelessly, ignorantly, sometimes with a delusive design. It thus comes to believe that exact methods of statistical control and interpretation scarcely exist. It must be admitted that statistical procedures as used by many criminologists, sociologists, medical men, and in our official publications are rough and poorly conceived. Unreduced figures are often compared. This is, of course, an unscientific procedure.

When reduced figures are used, the reduction rests on a chosen unit of the general population ("per 100,000 population"). This standard, while an improvement compared with the crude uncertainty of unreduced figures, is still distinctly defective. Two books of 500 pages each would never be regarded as equivalent and therefore comparable entities. Just so, a population unit of 100,000 is a most heterogeneous composite; it is equal in no respect to another 100,000 of population except in the mere mechanical and quantitative relation of numbers. Thus, the polymorphous compound, called population, has to be broken down into more elementary and primitive constituents. Births have to be related to females only who might be very unequally distributed in a segment of the population. Senile psychoses, obviously, should be connected with the older sections of the population, rapes to the number of adult males in a given population, larcenies to the needy strata, and not to hobos and bankers alike.

All these classes might vary very widely in two numerically equal units of population and such diversity would alter profoundly the result of a statistical parallel. In the course of many thousands of computations made by the writer as an associate editor of the Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures and as director of the Colorado Crime Survey, he was struck by the fact that widely varying results, in comparing a group of states for instance, were caused by some faulty statistical procedure. The comparative basis seemed to be identical but it was in reality most disparate. Application of the right, or a revised standard, reduced the numeri-

¹ The data are in print and this is to many people completely convincing.

² The Uniform Crime Reports, which are a laudable attempt to give exact information regarding the amount and types of crime, commit this error, e.g., it gives a rape rate of 8.8 per 100,000 inhabitants instead of computing this crime per 100,000 adult males. Cf. Uniform Crime Reports, 166, 1939. The percentage figures showing urban and rural crimes are consequently unreliable. (Ibid., 190.) The rape rate obtained by a correct method would be much higher. It might be still larger in urban areas.

cal disparities. It is true that some variances will always remain, and must exist, since no social phenomenon depends on one sole cause, and our tests embrace but one of these combined causative factors. In calling this standard the "right" one, we wish to lay stress upon one point. In arriving at a standard which tends to narrow the span between two statistical values, we seem to be put on the track of a causal force. A few examples may throw light on our hypothesis.

Sutherland says that "immigrants contribute less than their quota to the criminal population of the United States when correction is made for variations in the age composition of the immigrant population." He doubts whether the belief is generally true that the second generation of immigrants is more inclined to crime than their foreign-born parents and also more

TABLE I. MALE COMMITMENTS TO FOUR MICHIGAN PENAL INSTITUTIONS, 1936-1938

Per 100,000 Population	Native White of Native Parentage	Native White of Foreign Parentage	Foreign-born
General population	46.9	46.6	21.8
All males	90.7	92.7	39.4
Males 15-44	194.3	186.7	92.9
Males 25-59	226.4	218.8	54.8
Males 15-29	334.9	333.0	257.7

criminal than the whites of native parentage. We shall check this assumption by recent figures and by taking into account the age distribution of the three different groups. Michigan provides us with three years' figures (1936–1938) of prisoners committed to its penal institutions, distinguishing native-born of native parents, native-born of foreign parents and foreign-born.

Considering the total population, or all of the males in Michigan, the foreign-born present a proportion of criminality which lies more than 50 percent under the delinquency of all other classes. Proceeding to the 15-44 age group, which neither includes the older sections of the population nor isolates the youthful, this ratio remains practically unchanged. As soon as we raise the age used as standard to 25-59 years, a startling disproportion in favour of the foreign-born becomes visible; the reason is the large number of foreign-born in the higher age groups which tends to lower their criminality, and which—we may add—apparently weighs heavily on the low figures in the total population, in all males and in the group 15-44 years of age.

³ Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, 125, Philadelphia, 1939.

⁴ Idem, 126.

⁶ Statistical Report Regarding Arrests and State Prisoners Committed and Released During 1936, 1937, and 1938, 7, Michigan Department of Correction, Lansing, 1939. The native-born of native or foreign parentage might include a few nonwhite people; the error, however, can not be significant. Population figures computed from Age Distribution, Fifteenth Census, 623.

Choosing, in contrast, a selected youthful section of the population as a representative standard, we notice that the delinquency figures immediately come closer to one another. By eliminating the misleading item of the heavily overstocked older groups in the foreign-born population, we find a causal factor: the peculiar age distribution of the foreign-born.⁶

It is well known that a relationship exists between tuberculosis and sexual irritability. The subfebrile states of the ailment tend to stimulate the libido; and it may be true also that the peril in which the patient lives weakens the painfully erected apparatus of our psychic inhibitions. Insecurity creates unrestraint as is demonstrated by all periods of war, revolution, and extreme uncertainty and confusion.

Table 3. Five Year Average Number of Deaths from Respiratory Tuberculosis. Selected Areas, 1933-19371

1	Selected Areas	Number
	United States Connecticut Colorado California	64,759 651 758 ⁸ 4,127

¹ Computed from figures in *Mortality Statistics*, 1933, p. 70; 1934, p. 50; 1935, pp. 76, 78; 1936, pp. 74, 76; and *Vital Statistics*, 1937, pp. 258, 261, 264, 396.

² There is a certain number of deaths of nonresidents, resulting from tuberculosis in Colorado. Crimes, however, might be committed by nonresidents as well.

Our investigation started with the computation of five year averages of tuberculosis deaths in four areas: the whole of the United States; Connecticut; Colorado; and California. Two of these sections, Colorado and California, have a rather high mortality rate from tuberclosis. The total population of males in Colorado includes so many more old people that no computation concerning delinquency can be based on this varying standard. Figures computed from Age Distribution, Fifteenth Census, 653, 1930.

These figures do not exactly yield the material we want to obtain since they show only the mortality from tuberculosis, and not the morbidity. They further do not eliminate the female deaths. For comparative purposes, however, they suffice in some measure. We then computed a specific age

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF MALES IN SELECTED AGE GROUPS, COLORADO, 1930

Age Groups	Native White	Foreign-born White
Total population	100.0	100.0
Age group 15-44	44.6	38.9 66.4
Age group 25-59	41.2	66.4

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⁶ The fact that only a youthful group should be used for comparative purposes can be demonstrated in a simple way. We present the following table:

group which is criminally active, the males from 15 to 49 years of age, and we arrived at the following table:

TABLE 4. FOUR-YEAR AVERAGE RAPE RATES FOR SELECTED AREAS, 1934-19371

Areas	Per 100,000 Males 15-49 Years of Age (1930)	Per 10,000 Deaths from Respir. Tuberculosis
United States ²	12.8	648.2
Connecticut	9.1	599.0
Colorado	22.8	817.98
California	16.7	680.9

¹ Computed from figures in *Judicial Criminal Statistics*, 1934, p. 44; 1935, p. 42; 1936, p. 29; and 1937, p. 5 (provisional report).

² The Judicial Statistics reports only a changing number of states—25 in 1934, 30 in 1935, 29 in 1936 and 1937. Even these states do not give the figures of all criminal trials. We have thus increased the figures by 50 percent which is a very rough estimate.

³ The figures would be somewhat higher if we could eliminate the nonresident consumptives and the nonresident rapists.

By relating rape convictions to tuberculosis, again we find that the heavy variations shown in the population figures vanish and give way to a distinct smoothing of results. The conclusion is justified that tuberculosis is a contributing factor in rape criminality.

We can go further. Obviously age plays a role in this sort of delinquency; older men are more inclined to forcible sexual approaches than young and middle-aged men who need not attain their ends by force. We have accordingly compared two age groups, the first excluding males, too young to commit rape, and the second being a definite group of aged males. The results are most instructive:

Table 5. Four-year Average Rates of Persons Tried for Rape by Age Groups for Selected Areas, 1934-1937

	Per 100,000 Males				
Areas	15 Years and over	45 to 69 Years of Age			
United States	14.8	51.8			
Connecticut	7.9	27.0			
Colorado	27.9	89.9			
California	14.9	48.5			

The disparity between the rape figures in the old age groups is distinctly, even though not greatly, reduced in Colorado and in California. We have intentionally selected trials ("disposed of") instead of convictions, since the elimination rate ("nonconvicted") is especially high in Colorado and quite large in California. Many of these cases may have been settled outside the court or "fixed."

Thus age appears to be a contributing factor apart from other causal

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factors. States with a high proportion of aged people, California, for instance, are found to have a greater rate of rape cases. With a low tuberculosis morbidity and a reduced proportion of old people Connecticut is bound to have a low rape rate. It is certainly true that other biological and social forces contribute to bring about this favorable result, as for instance the sex-ratio, density of population, the willingness of the female population to enter into irregular intimate relations, the readiness to have such offenses settled by money or marriage, and other such conditions.

Diseases of the circulatory system increase emotionality. This frequently produces violent outbursts of anger. We may therefore expect some correlation between crimes of violence, such as manslaughter and aggravated assault, and circulatory disturbances. Statistical examination of this hypothesis is confronted by a certain difficulty. We know somewhat accurately

Table 6. Comparison of Four-year Average (1934–1937) Aggravated Assault Rates in California and Colorado by General Population, Selected Age Groups and Deaths from Heart Disease

1	Aggravated Assault Rates				
Items of Comparison	Colorado	California			
Per 100,000 population	4.8	7.3			
Per 100,000 males 15-49 years of age	18.3	24.6			
Per 100,000 males 50 and over	48.2	68.8			
Per 10,000 heart deaths2	198.7	209.1			

¹ Figures computed from data in *Judicial Criminal Statistics*, 1934, p. 36; 1935, p. 34; 1936, p. 34; 1937 (provisional) Colorado and California, p. 1.

² Computed from figures in *Mortality Statistics*, 1933, p. 71; 1934, p. 51; 1935, p. 79; 1936, p. 77; *Vital Statistics*, 1937, vol. I, p. 77. We used a five-year average 1933-1937.

the number of people who die from diseases of the circulatory system. However, these individuals die mostly at the age of 65 and over. They appear to be outside the range of criminal activity. But this is not the whole story. Heart ailments proceed slowly before death actually occurs. Some people suffer very early from a slight and neglected trouble. This disturbance may have some sort of connection with uncontrollable temper and sudden brainstorms. It is therefore quite likely that a relation should exist between outbursts of temper and a defective circulatory system, although it might be difficult to establish such a correlation exactly.

Tentatively, we have compared death by diseases of the circulatory system in Colorado and California with figures of defendants convicted for aggravated assault in these areas. All proportions are displaced as soon as we substitute other standards than population figures. The heart death standard brings us closest to a conformity which, obviously, can not be complete in view of the influence of other causal forces.⁷

⁷ Age again plays a role in the heart mortality which perhaps tends to lower the California rate per 10,000 heart deaths unduly as shown by the fact that the male population 45 and over

By far the great bulk of our crimes are offenses against property. To whatever theoretical view we may adhere, there is no doubt that 80 percent of our prisoners would vanish from penal institutions if a utopian world could remove the temptation to lay hands on other people's property. Wealth is most unequally distributed in a given population, and among all the causal factors involved, the economic status is probably the least fluctuating force. Our test can not ignore this most powerful causal condition.

We have combined this inquiry with the race problem in Table 7:

Table 7. Four-year Average Rate¹ of Negro and White Prisoners Admitted to the Colorado State Penitentiary in Canyon City, 1935–1939

Units of Comparison	White2	Negro
Per 1000 male population aged 15-74	3.2	15.0
Per 1000 totally unemployed3	34.3	43.5

1 Computed from 30th Rept. of the Warden of the Colo. State Pen., 33, and the 31st Rept., 28.

² Mexicans have been added to the white group.

3 Computed from data in Final Report on Total and Partial Unemployment, 1937, vol. I, 92.

It is suggestive to attempt the same computation for the two great prisons of California, San Quentin and Folsom. Since the unemployment statistics of 1937 clasify all Mexicans as "white," we have to go through a complicated process of computation before we arrive at the following results. The scale of disparity between the two races declines from the general population to the unemployed section and then to the emergency workers. When the two races have been reduced to nearly the same economic level, their criminal manifestations have grown almost even.

Table 8. Four-year (1935-1938) Average Rate of Negro and White Prisoners
Admitted to San Quentin and Folsom Prisons¹

Units of Comparison	White2	Negro
Per 100,000 male population 15 years and over (1930)	0.81	5.67
Per 1000 totally unemployed (1937) Per 1000 emergency workers (1937)	10.60	17.06 28.55

¹ Computed from figures in Biennial Report of the State Board of Prison Directors of the State of California, 1935-1936, and 1937-1938, pages 24, 25, 65, and 76.

² Mexicans included.

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In the general population, which consists of rich and poor, of independent and utterly independent, the effects of want on delinquency are masked. If one group has a decidedly inferior economic structure, its criminality must rise, although the screen of that colorless generality called "population" may conceal the more delicate disproportions. We are at once con-

in the general population, 1930, was (in percentage): United States, 23.3; Colorado, 25.7; California, 27.6. Computed from figures in Age Distribution, pages 584, 653, 659.

fronted with the superficial judgement—stronger criminal propensities. We need, however, but come across a common causative trend (it may be wealth or poverty) and the delusive picture undergoes a complete transformation, or better said, correction. The assumed inborn tendencies fade until only small differences are left; the same sort and power of pressure tends to produce conformable patterns of human behavior.

It may be argued that the reception of a prisoner in a penal institution is not a very convincing basis for statistical examination since a long series of proceedings have been passed through before an admission to the penitentiary occurs. Many disturbing factors may have interfered and may have acted differently toward the one or the other racial group. The white, for instance, is more likely than the colored man to receive a suspended sentence or a fine, and consequently his admission rate may be affected. Such objections are not quite unfounded. We have therefore gone back to the first move in a criminal procedure, the arrest of the individual, and present the following table. By finding a common crimogenic basis, we arrive at

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Table 9. Three-year Average¹ Rates of Negro and White Arrests in Denver, 1936–1938

Units of Comparison	White	Negro
Per 100,000 population Per 100,000 totally unemployed	5,636 109,321	10,496 108,632

¹ Computed from figures in Annual Report of the Police Department, Denver, Colorado, 1936, p. 58; 1937, p. 62; and 1938, p. 72; and in Final Report on Total and Partial Unemployment, 1937, vol. I, 387.

nearly the same arrest rate. This outcome is particularly important, because these arrest figures reflect, in contrast to the prison figures, the enormous amount of minor delinquency which mostly escapes our statistical survey based upon admissions to penal institutions.

The test which we submit herewith consists in the elimination of qualitative inequalities from the mere numerical notion of population. If this elimination contracts the span, the frequently exorbitant disparity between the two magnitudes, we may have isolated a causal factor. It will never be the cause, but rather a more or less operative component in the bundle of conditions without whose combined influence force criminal deeds would not arise. The significance of such a knowledge need not be emphasized.

Another problem, whether the rate of convergence shown here may indicate the causal intensity in operation, must be left to further inquiry.

⁸ See the figures in my paper, "The Criminality of the Negro," Amer. J. Crim. Law and Criminol., 1940, 679 and 680.

SEX RATIO AND MARITAL STATUS AMONG NEGROES*

OLIVER C. COX
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IFFERENCES in the marital status of persons in different areas and communities may be due to differences in the ratio of marriageable men to women. Although in simple societies such institutions as polygyny and polyandry may have their roots in tribal sex disequilibrium,1 the effect of the latter condition is hardly observed in our more complex organization. William F. Ogburn has shown, however, that in cities where the sexes are unequal in number, a sort of competition develops which is similar to that of the "open market." The proportion of either sex married in the community will depend upon the availability of marriageable members of the other sex; but the excess of one sex over the other affects differently the proportion of males and females who will be married. "Men are less dependent on the supply of women in marrying than women are on the supply of men."2 But this conclusion has significant racial and urban-rural modifications. We shall consider here some of the racial differences. The racial sex ratio varies considerably in the different regional divisions of the United States. In the Mountain division, among Negroes, there are 123 men to 100 women (1930); while in the South Atlantic, there are approximately 93 men to 100 women. Such differences in sex ratios are similarly significant among urban and rural areas. Although a comparison of the sex ratio and marriage in the divisions may suggest the nature of the dependence of marriage upon the availability of the sexes, the size of these units is so great as to reduce considerably the precision of deductions. Ordinarily, men and women meet each other not in divisions or even in states, but in cities or rural counties.3

In cities, as the number of males to 100 females increases, the percentage of all persons 15 years of age and over who are married also increases; but the advance in marriage is greater for Negroes than for native white of native parentage persons. In the case of Negroes, the straight line of average relationship (for sex ratios 60 to 134 and for 220 cities) has a slope of

^{*} The writer is indebted to W. F. Ogburn and Samuel A. Stouffer for valuable advice and criticism.

¹ Robert H. Lowie, Primitive Society, 40, New York, 1920; Edward Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, 5th ed., 1: 337; Margaret Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea, chaps. 10–12, New York, 1930.

² E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, American Marriage and Family Relationships, 197-99, New York, 1928.

² Probably, as in the case of larger cities, even these operating units of the wider geographical area become sectionalized for the social activities of the individual. See James H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 38: 210.

+0.211; while for native whites, the slope is +0.097 (sex ratios 80 to 109). Thus, the change in percentage of Negroes married for given changes in the sex ratio is at least twice as great as that for native whites. These relationships are shown in Chart 1, and in Chart 2, with extreme sex ratios included.

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The percentage of Negro females married in cities is particularly sensitive to changes in the sex ratio, while the percentage of males married seems to respond almost not at all. An increase of 10 in the sex ratio increases female marriage on the average by four percent and decreases the marriage of males by only 0.3 percent. Thus, the percentage of urban Negro females married varies about 13 times as much, for a given change in the sex ratio, as the percentage of males married. Chart 3 illustrates the relationship. A similar conclusion was reached by Ogburn. He found that for 100 cities with sex ratios from 83 to 119 "the slope was about four times as great for females (+0.52) as for males (-0.13)." The latter limits of the sex ratio, however, excludes much of the urban South where the marriage of females seems to be peculiarly sensitive to changes in the sex ratio. The sample which Ogburn used, then, will tend to narrow the difference in slopes for the sexes. The curvature of data here is insignificant.

In the case of native whites of native parentage, for 212 of the same cities, female marriage increases 2.8 percent and male marriage decreases 1.6 percent for every 10 percent increase in the sex ratio. The influence of the sex ratio is somewhat less than twice as great upon the marriage of females as upon that of males. This percentage of native white males married depends more upon the sex ratio than Negro males, and Negro females more upon the sex ratio than white females.

⁴ Groves and Ogburn, op. cit., 197.

⁶ Almost every conclusion reached in this study has been based upon data reported by the Federal census; hence its precision will vary directly with the accuracy of these reports. It has been shown by various writers that the 1920 census, especially, underenumerates Negroes and whites and that the error is greater for Negroes.

But the effect of an error in enumeration depends upon the problem in hand. If the undercount for all communities is systematic and uniform it will tend to lower averages and to lessen the slope of simple regression lines; but coefficients of correlation will not be affected. If the error varies from community to community, correlations will be lowered; but averages may not be affected. Finally, there may be a combination of systematic and variable errors, the effect of which will depend upon the positive or negative character of the systematic error, and the size of the variable errors of enumeration. A careful study of the reliability of the data does not seem to justify any significant modifications of the conclusions reached in this

[•] The equations are:

For males, $Y = 77.26321 - 0.15995 \ X$ and $Y = 75.02473 - 0.11528 - 0.00022 X^2$ For females, $Y = 32.17384 + 0.28274 \ X$ and $Y = -17.66791 + 1.27839 \ X - 0.00491 X^2$

Where Y = the percentage married and X = the sex ratio. If only the 199 cities with sex ratios from 80 to 109 are included, the difference between the slopes for native white males and females is reduced. They are for females ± 0.27 and for males -0.19.

CHART. 1. THE SEX RATIO AMONG NEGROES AND PERCENTAGE MARRIED FOR 200 CITIES, 1930

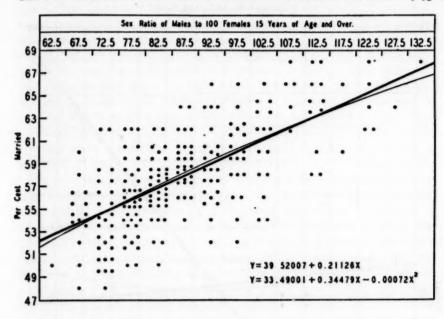


CHART 2. THE SEX RATIO AMONG NATIVE WHITES OF NATIVE PARENTAGE AND PERCENTAGE MARRIED FOR 212 CITIES, 1930

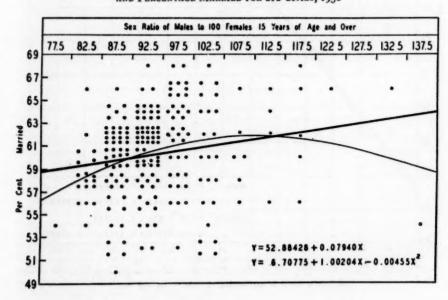
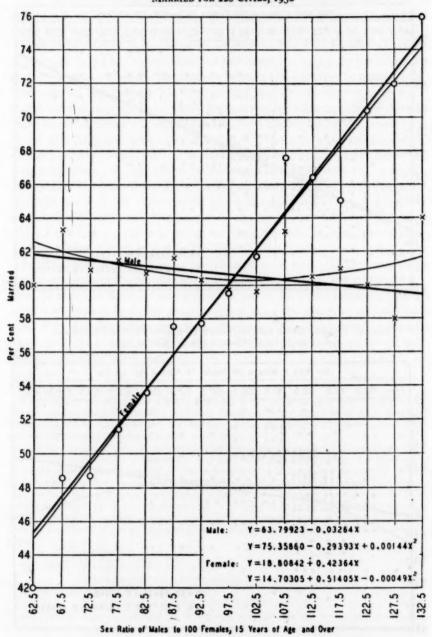


CHART 3. SEX RATIO AND PERCENTAGE OF MALE AND FEMALE NEGROES MARRIED FOR 220 CITIES, 1930



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It has been accepted that the economic factor in marriage is an important urge. Ogburn has suggested that "the fact that men are largely the economic support of married women" may be the determining element in the greater sensitivity of the marriage of women to variations in the sex ratio. A scintilla of evidence was educed to show that inasmuch as Negro women work for money wages more frequently than white women, the effect of the sex ratio upon the marriage of male and female Negroes was more nearly alike. Although the author does not put confidence in his results, the relationships obtained here are opposed to such assumptions. It is probable that Negro women do not depend upon their economic power so much in bargaining for marriage as in using their ability to work from necessity after they are married.

One may venture the following speculations. In urban communities, marriage involves an economic burden especially upon men. We may assume, then, that for a given standard of living, more men will marry as more of them become economically sufficient. Within limits of the sex ratio, the condition of the "pocketbook" may be a determining factor in male marriage. As the sex ratio increases, this economic factor may remain constant, the result of which will be a larger number of men economically able to marry but a relatively smaller number of women available. The assumption here is that women take a comparatively passive role in contracting for marriage. On the other hand, if the sex ratio decreases, within limits, while the economic ability of men to marry remains constant, the percentage of males married will be the same as when the sex ratio was high, but the percentage of females married will be smaller. We may put the concept in its simplest form thus: if, when the sex ratio is either 110 or 100, 50 percent of the male population are economically able to marry, there would be obviously different percentages of the female population married for this constant male percentage.

Apart from the fact that in cities the percentage of men married is less dependent upon the sex ratio than the percentage of women married, there remains the question of the difference between native whites and Negroes. Why do changes in the sex ratio influence the marriage of white males more than that of Negro males, and white females less than Negro females? A very evident answer to these questions seems to have its basis in the em-

⁷ Groves and Ogburn, op. cit., 199-201.

⁸ At every age there is a larger percentage of Negro women than native white women employed in the United States. High employment of women, then, is a characteristic of Negroes. Negro women are employed mainly as domestic servants, an occupation that is commonly considered undignified. Thus, employment before marriage may be a disadvantage to the Negro girl. This is partly indicated by the fact that *single* young white women are more highly employed than single young Negro women. In 1930, for the age group 20 to 24, 67.1 percent of the single Negro women and 70.1 percent of the single native white women were employed in the United States.

[.] W. F. Ogburn, Amer. J. Sociol., 41: 297.

ployment conditions of women. It may be shown that, in cities, as the percentage of white women married increases, they become less employed; but as the percentage of Negro women married increases, they become more employed. Thus employment of white women seems to make them rather more independent of marriage than does employment of Negro women.

Generally speaking, the employment of Negro women compared with that of white women is insecure, poorly remunerated, and undignified. White women, on the other hand, may frequently find employment that is not only interesting but also highly profitable. As the sex ratio increases, then, we should expect white men to find it more difficult to marry than Negro men. They may have greater problems in meeting the standards of the marriageable employed white women. In the case of Negroes, employed marriageable women, as a group, may be least desirable to Negro men. Thus we should expect the marriage of Negro women to depend more on the sex ratio than that of white women. For though they are more highly employed, comparatively few of them are economically independent. Moreover, it is conceivable that Negro girls may be less concerned than white girls are about the economic abilities of suitors who want to marry. The probability of working as a domestic after marriage is not an insignificant matter, but it might be more preferable to do so after marriage than before.

Differences Between the South and the North. A comparison of the influence of the sex ratio upon the marriage of Negroes in the South and the North defines the concept still further. In the South, for 145 cities, total marriage increases on the average two percent, and in the North for 77 cities, one percent for every ten percent increase in the sex ratio. In Is this sectional difference in the operation of the sex ratio characteristic? In the South, the range of the sex ratios for these cities is from 60 to 100; in the North it varies between 65 and 130; and, consequently, the average percentage married is higher in the North than in the South, though, of course, other factors than the sex ratio may be involved. An analysis by sex shows that the slopes are, for females, +0.3 and +0.4 and, for males, -0.1 and -0.07, the North and South respectively. The sex ratio seems to be more determinative of the marriage of women in the South and that of men in the North. 12

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¹⁰ Could it be that the type of employment generally open to Negro women makes them "age quicker than white women"? If physical attractiveness is a significant factor in men's choice of women in marriage, how much of this will a Negro woman have to offer after working for ten years, say from the age of 20 to 30 years, in a laundry? Comparatively few urban Negro women marry after 30 years of age.

¹¹ The equations are:

The South, Y = 38.24777 + 0.22294XThe North, Y = 47.72287 + 0.13594X

Where Y = percentage married and X = sex ratio.

¹² The relationships are:

The South: Males, Y=66.9751-0.07648 X

Females, Y = 17.0976 + 0.4415 X The North: Males, Y = 72.99067 - 0.11882 X Females, Y = 29.62588 + 0.3202 X

The prevailing low sex ratios in the South suggest the probability that in regions where the number of marriageable women is relatively large, as in the South, changes in the sex ratio may influence the marriage of men less than where women are generally scarce; and, conversely, where men are scarce changes in the sex ratio may affect the marriage of women more than where, as in the North, the ratio of marriageable men to women is high. The results obtained from dividing the 77 cities in the North into two parts, those with sex ratios above 100 and those with ratios below 100, support this hypothesis slightly, but the number of cities in each category is so small that definite conclusions cannot now be reached.

Table 1. Mean Sex Ratio and Mean Percentage Married for Negroes and Native Whites of Native Parentage in Cities¹

Area and Race	Sex	Percentage Married			
Area and Race	Ratio	Males	Females	Total	
Negro					
The South	80.8	60.8	52.7	56.3	
The North	101.0	60.9	62.1	61.4	
The North					
Low Sex Ratios	93.3	61.3	59.1	_	
High Sex Ratios	116.0	60.1	67.7	-	
Native White of Native Parentage	94.3	62.2	58.8	60.4	

¹ The number of cities are: for Negroes, the South 145; the North 77; low sex ratios in the North, 51; high sex ratios, 26; for native whites of native parentage, 212.

The stability of urban male marriage for relatively wide variations in the sex ratio and the definite positive response of female marriage may be further observed from a comparison of the means of the sex ratios and percentages married. Table I shows that an average of approximately 60 percent of the male Negro population are married for an average change in the sex ratio from 80 to 116. The difference of percentages married for the low and high sex ratios in the North indicate the moderate negative slope of the data. In nearly every case, however, increases in the mean sex ratios concur with increases in female marriage. Exceptions are the figures for native whites and the low sex ratios for Negroes, but the fact that an average of only 58.8 percent of native white women are married when the sex ratio is 94, and 59.1 percent of Negro women are married when the sex ratio is 93 is consistent with the observation made above that the marriage of Negro women is more sensitive to increases in the sex ratio than that of white women; the converse being true for Negro and white males.

The Influence of Excess Married Men. Frequently among migrating groups, husband and wife do not change residence together. Sometimes the economic pull is directed toward men as in the case of Gary, Indiana, where there are approximately 103 married men to 100 married women. Some-

times it is a call for women as in the case of Miami, Florida, where there are 90 married men to 100 married women. These inequalities of the sexes in different communities may have a significant effect upon both the sex ratio and percentage married. As we should expect, where the sex ratio is high, the ratio of married men to married women is also high. The correlation of the sex ratio and the marriage ratio for Negroes in the urban North is +0.71 (77 cities), and for the South, it is +0.49 (145 cities). In other words, married men tend to migrate to places where all men, regardless of marital status, migrate; and the same is true for women.

One way of eliminating the probable effect of excess husbands upon the relationship of the sex ratio and marriage is to give each community the same excess of married men. This may be done by deriving partial correlations.

Table 2. Simple and Partial Correlation for the Sex Ratio and Percentage of Negroes, 15 Years of Age and Over, Married (r_{ms}) , with the Ratio of Married Men to Married Women (a) Constant

C - T -	Northern Cities			Southern Cities		
Coefficients	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Fma	-0.45	+0.78	+0.50	-0.21	+0.75	+0.52
rms.0	-0.30	+0.61	+0.41	-0.10	+0.86	+0.67
Adjusted Data (rms')	-0.50	+0.85	+0.48	-0.22	+0.82	+0.54

Another approach to the problem is to assume that monogamous marriage is the rule in the United States, and of course, that each married woman has a husband. By simply making the number of married men equal to the number of married women in every community, we may eliminate to some extent the effects of migration. In Gary, Indiana, for example, there are 4355 Negro married women and 4470 married men. If we assume that 115 men have wives in other parts of the country, we may reduce both the number of married men and the total male population fifteen years of age and over in Gary by 115. The new sex ratio and percentage married may present a relationship with the influence of migration minimized.¹²

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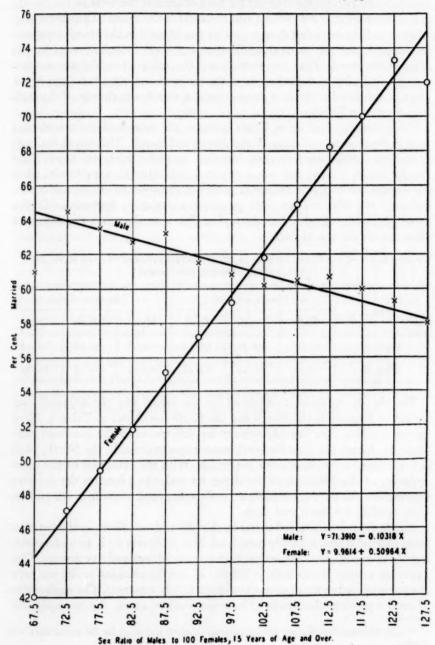
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Table 2 shows the partial correlations and the simple correlations of the adjusted data. The effect of giving cities and rural counties the same ratio

¹³ The method here has been to equalize in each community married men and women with married women as the norm. In 1930, there were enumerated for the United States, 98.3 Negro married men to 100 married women. The deficiency of married men may be due to married men reporting themselves single, husbands living outside the United States, underenumeration of married men, or women in other marital groups reporting themselves married. The effect of equalizing husbands and wives, if the error is in unmarried women reporting themselves married, is to increase the sex ratio on the average less than 1.7 percent.

CHART 4. THE SEX RATIO, WITH EXCESS MARRIED MEN ELIMINATED, AND PERCENTAGE OF MALE AND FEMALE NEGROES MARRIED FOR 216 CITIES, 1930



of married men to married women is to reduce the correlation between the sex ratio and percentage married for both sexes and the total in the North, and to increase that for females and the total in the South. The simple correlations of the adjusted data for males and females in the North represent an increase over the original coefficients; but there is little change for the sexes in the South. Both the partials and the adjusted coefficients emphasize the disparity of the influence of the sex ratio upon the marriage of the sexes in the South; but they do not make a significant change of the relationship in the North.

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Using the adjusted data, Chart 4 shows the relationship for male and female Negroes in 216 cities of the North and South. The slopes for both males and females are increased, but that for males relatively more. They are, for males, -0.033 and -0.103, actual and adjusted respectively, while for females the actual is advanced from +0.42 to +0.51. Thus, a given increase in the effective sex ratio produces a variation approximately five times greater for females than for males. This is smaller than the difference observed for the actual data.¹⁴

Table 3. Slope of the Curve of Average Relationship between the Sex Ratio and Percentage Married for Negroes

	N	Northern Cities			Southern Cit	ties
Data	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Actual	-0.12	+0.32	+0.14	-0.08	+0.44	+0.2
Adjusted	-0.16	+0.44	+0.14	-0.09	+0.50	+0.2

The simple regression coefficients for the actual and the adjusted data for urban Negroes in the North and the South are shown in Table 3. These figures indicate that the adjustment for differences in the marriage ratio does not change the slope for total percentages married in the North, while it is increased only slightly for the South. With the exception of the slight widening of the difference of the slopes for males and females the adjusted figures, like the partial correlation coefficients, tend to confirm the conclusions reached for the actual data.

Conclusions. In advanced cultures, the effect of variations in the sex ratio upon marital status is hardly perceived. Still more remote is an understanding of the operation of the sex ratio among racial and nativity groups. That marriage among Negro men is influenced less by changes in the sex ratio than among native white men is not immediately apparent. The explanation of such a phenomenon leads us into speculations about the economic and

¹⁴ The adjusted slope for the total percentage married is +0.23; for the actual data it is +0.21.

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social life of the races. The following conclusions are some of the main points derived from this study; their modifications and interpretations cannot be given for lack of space.

The percentage of urban Negro females married, for given changes in the sex ratio, varies about 13 times as much as that for males. In the case of native whites, the variation is somewhat less than twice as great for females as for males. The slopes of the curves for males are: -0.03 and -0.16, and for females +0.42 and +0.28, Negroes and native whites of native parentage respectively. This racial difference of greater variations for white males and Negro females may be due to the employment conditions of women. As the sex ratio increases, white men may have to face greater problems than Negro men in obtaining wives because of favorable employment among white women. Satisfactory employment on the other hand, being a rarity among Negro women, the sex ratio may operate more nearly as if gainful employment did not exist among them.

The total percentage married among Negroes is increased two percent in the South and one percent in the North for every ten percent increase in the sex ratio. The reason for this difference is not quite clear. In the South, female marriage, and in the North, male marriage, seem to be more sensitive to changes in the sex ratio. The slopes are, for females, +0.3 and +0.4; for males, -0.1 and -0.07, in the North and South respectively. A test of the hypothesis that in regions where the sex ratio is generally low, as in the South, female marriage will be more sensitive to changes in the sex ratio, and that of males less so, results in only a trace of supporting evidence.

Differences in the ratio of married men to married women may have some influence on the slopes for the different areas and sections; the elimination of excess married men from the cities studied tends to minimize the disparity in the operation of the sex ratio upon the marriage of males and females.

CONTRASTS IN URBAN AND RURAL FAMILY LIFE

J. ROY LEEVY
Purdue University

This article shows some contrasts of activities between rural and urban life, based on data from a survey of 1000 rural and 1000 urban families in Illinois. The families were of the white race and represented many different walks of life such as, professional, skilled laborers, unskilled laborers, merchants, farmers, etc. The urban families lived in Mt. Vernon, Paris, and Danville, Illinois. The respective population of these urban communities was 14,000, 8500 and 63,000. The rural families lived in the open country of Clark County (125 of them) and the balance lived in Redmon, Brocton, Westfield, Casey, Martinsville, and Marshall, Illinois. The population of the villages, hamlets, and towns ranged all the way from 250, the smallest, to 2406, the largest. The average size of the families was 4.1 for the urban and 5.2 for the rural. Approximately 53.1 percent of the urban families owned their own homes and the remainder were tenants. Of the rural families, about 63 percent were owners and the remainder tenants.

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The method of collecting data was personal interviews with family heads. The writer was assisted by fifteen field workers, ten of whom were former rural school teachers. Five were graduate students. A family schedule composed of a series of questions was used when each family head was interviewed. Approximately four hundred families, half urban and half rural, were interviewed each year from 1934 to 1938 inclusive.

The purposes of the study were: (1) to study the socioeconomic activities; (2) the economic status as revealed by home ownership and creative comforts; (3) the political and educational activities; and (4) the religious and the recreational activities.

Table I shows the comparative economic activities of the urban and the rural families. Such activities as garment making, canning food, cleaning and pressing garments, doing home laundry, and the production of some garden vegetables, are more generally practiced by a greater number of the rural than the urban families. The reasons for this are fairly obvious, but the significant thing is the differential percentages. It would be still more significant if we knew, for example, what percentage of the rural families had commercial pressing done, and what has been the relative changes in these percentages over a period of time. This would throw light upon the degree and rate of rural urbanization, and might also reveal interesting trends in urban life, for example, is the home laundry increasing or decreasing? Many of the rural families probably have commercial pressing done since

¹ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, U. S. Dept. of Commerce.

TABLE I. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF 1000 RURAL AND 1000 URBAN ILLINOIS FAMILIES,

Activities	Urban	Rural
Activities	Percent	Percent
Use of bakery products	93.2	62.4
Did home laundry	32.4	83.6
Canning food	13.2	61.4
Ate at cafe or restaurant	46.2	13.2
Made annual family budget	32.4	12.3
Modern water supply	96.3	43.2
Produced some garden vegetables	4.2	86.4
Made garments for family members	16.4	34.2
Cleaned and pressed garments	14.3	23.3

the writer observed cleaning and pressing trucks delivering pressed and cleaned garments in many of the rural villages. Two of the rural towns had branch cleaning and pressing receiving and delivering stores located in them. These branch cleaning and pressing stores would receive garments from rural families and send them by truck to cleaning and pressing plants located in urban communities. There was no attempt to ascertain the number of rural families that patronized cleaning and pressing plants in urban communities. There is no doubt in the mind of the writer that urban communities are rendering many urban services to many of the rural families that live in the nearby open country and small towns and villages.

Home food canning is no doubt growing less important in both rural and urban homes. This is due in part to the fact that there are many more canned products such as fruits and vegetables available to all families, regardless of their location. We should like to know whether urban canning is increasing and rural decreasing, and the rates of change in each. Also, which type of family consumes the greater amount of fruits and vegetables.

About 30 percent more urban than rural families use bakery products, but the remarkable thing is that almost two-thirds of the rural families do so. Many bakeries had routes of delivery in rural areas. It may be that the use of bakery products is greatly increasing in the rural families. On the other hand, there may be an increase of home baking in the cities. Here again, we should know the trends and rates of increase and decrease.

Laundry work in the home is not as extensive in urban families as in rural families. This may be explained in part by the fact that most laundries are located in urban communities, but there may be another reason, viz. that there are more members in the rural family. The housewife not only has more laundry work, but she also may have more available help since rural families are larger. Economically speaking, home laundering may be more practical in the rural community than in the urban, but this condition may be partially equalized or reversed in the future by the extension of laundry services to the country and the development of efficient family laundering units in the city.

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Eating in restaurants is practiced more extensively by the urban than rural families. This is doubtless due both to convenience and accessibility and also to the dining out folkways of city life. With improved transportation, one would expect to see rural families increasing their dining out.

Making a family budget was found two and a half times more frequently in the urban than rural family. This may be attributed to the fact that urban families depend upon a salaried income or upon a regular monthly income of money which is spent more wisely if it is budgeted. The rural family also produces a great deal of its food supply and does not always have regular monthly income or money, hence budget making is not so much needed. It may be that consumer education has been better taught to urban families. The urban family is almost entirely a consumer unit while the rural family is not only a consumer but a producer as well.

The ownership of homes and creative comforts is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Ownership of Homes and Creative Comforts by 1000 Urban and 1000 Rural Illinois Families, 1934–1938

W	Urban	Rural
Homeowning and Creative Comforts	Percent	Percent
Owned homes	53.7	62.7
Owned electric washers	53·7 38.2	23.2
Owned vacuum cleaners	65.8	39.4
Owned gas-power washers	4.3	31.4
Owned automobiles	68.4	59.8
Owned radio	93.4	59.6
Owned telephones	56.2	41.2
Owned piano	68.4	35.2
Owned organs	2.3	12.6

The differences in modern water supply are what we would expect, but it is interesting to note that almost half of the rural families had modern water facilities. This is "rural urbanization" and doubtless will increase.

More rural than urban families own their homes while more urban than rural families possess more of the creative comforts such as radios, telephones, electric washers, etc. Home ownership may be attributed to a stable population. The writer in a previous study² found that rural families had lived for over 30 years on the same farm and that as high as 98 percent of the families studied who lived in open country neighborhoods owned and operated their farms. Other reasons may be the low values and the lower cost of building in rural and small town areas. Many of the small town dwellers are retired farmers and local business men who own their own businesses. Hence, mobility is much lower than in urban areas.

² J. Roy Leevy, A Study of Rural Neighborhoods in Clark County, Illinois. (Unpublished).

Some of the creative comforts operated by electricity would naturally be more numerous in urban areas, but with the incoming of rural electrification more such conveniences will no doubt soon be found in rural homes. The writer found relatively few rural family heads (not more than 1.4 percent) who opposed the use of electrical appliances in the home.

If we have more leisure time for the average American family, then there must be some way to spend it. Table 3 shows how rural and urban families use some of their leisure time.

Movies seem to lead all forms of recreation for parents. This study does not show attendance at movies by children, but the writer recalls that more children attend movies than parents. Sports as a form of recreation were more pronounced in urban families than rural.

TABLE 3. RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF 1000 URBAN AND 1000 RURAL ILLINOIS FAMILY HEADS, 1934-1938

Activities	Urban		Rural		
	Per	Percent		Percent	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Attended or participated in musical activ	ities	1			
once a week	33.4	61.2	13.2	28.6	
Attended a movie once a week	80.5	91.0	36.2	54.3	
Hunting and fishing	42.3	13.0	53.2	8.2	
Golf participation once a month	73.2	26.0	23.2	6.3	
Baseball participation or attendance on					
month	54.3	14.0	26.4	7.4	
Had hobbies	43.2	16.4	12.3	7.4	
Members of lodges	79.4	83.2	36.4	20.3	
Society, Clubs (bridge, etc.)	19.3	66.4	5.3	43.4	
Luncheon clubs	68.4	-	16.4	_	
Federated Women's Clubs	_	69.4	_	32.3	
American Legion	36.3	-	15.6	-	
American Legion Auxilliary	_	34.3	_	20.2	

The writer decided to place membership in social clubs such as bridge, and membership in fraternal orders such as lodges, under recreational functions of the family. These activities might have been catalogued as social activities of families.

One might consider the owning of a radio or a piano as a means of providing musical recreation. If we accept this, then the urban families have more access to the use of the radio and the piano. Some rural families said that they would purchase a radio when they got rural electrification.

There seems to be more provision for such recreational activities as golf and tennis in the urban communities, hence, urban family heads engage in these activities more than do rural family heads. This study shows that 47 percent more men than women from urban families participate in golf. In the case of rural families, 17 percent more men than women participate in

golf. Over three times as many urban as rural men play golf whereas the ratio is over four to one in the case of urban and rural women.

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In the case of miscellaneous activities such as riding, bicycling, and swimming, the urban families have more participation than do rural families. Many rural family heads when interviewed concerning recreation felt that probably a variety of recreational activities was somewhat unnecessary.

The opposite was true with urban family heads.

Hobbies consisted of handicraft work, painting, and flower gardening for the men from urban families. For the women of urban families, stamp collecting, painting and needlecraft were the chief hobby activities. A few family heads seem to feel that reading was a hobby only when one read Shakespeare. In rural families, hobbies were in the main little practiced. Some family heads of rural families said they had no time for hobbies. The chief hobbies for the men of rural families were flower gardening and handicraft work. Rural women had few activities except needlecraft which they classified as hobbies.

Table 4. Religious Activities of 1000 Urban and 1000 Rural Families in Illinois, 1934-1938

A	Urban Percent	Rural	
Activities			
Church attendance once a week—entire family	41.2	52.3	
Reading Bible once a week	19.3	52.3 26.4	
Grace at meals	34-4	42.5	
Subscribe for one religious magazine	28.3	14.3	
Other religious literature	23.4	19.4	
Members of men's church brotherhood	24.3	10.2	
Ladies' Aid members	41.2	62.3	

One of the outstanding contrasts is that when the women have larger percentages participating in certain recreations than the men the figures are closer than when the reverse is the case. Also, when the male percentages are larger, the difference is greater between rural males and females than between urban males and females. The males exceeded the females in the same four comparable categories, in both urban and rural families, with the exception of lodges, the urban females exceeding the males in this respect. The urban figures exceed the rural for both sexes in all categories except hunting and fishing for rural males.

Table 4 shows the most significant religious activities. The main difference in religious activities of urban and rural families is in family attendance at church and membership of women in Ladies' Aid Societies. More rural families read the Bible than do urban families. One significant thing not shown in Table 4 is the decline in rural churches in some of the counties. In one county, the decline in rural churches was from 43 in 1910 to 6 in

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1932. Rural family heads said that many rural churches in the open country had disappeared when families moved to the city and small farms were consolidated into large farms. Many churches, both urban and rural, seem to depend upon the Ladies' Aid Societies for financial support. The men's brotherhoods appear to be one of the most recently organized church groups for men. Ministers said this organization has much promise in stimulating interest in the church both from a religious and a social standpoint.

The educational activities of parents are shown in Table 5. Women seem to be taking the lead over men in P.T.A. work and visiting schools, both in urban and rural families. However, P.T.A. groups were more active among urban families than in rural.

Table 5. Educational Activities of 1000 Urban and 1000 Rural Illinois Families, 1934-1938

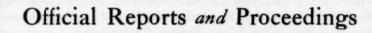
411	Urban Percent		Rural	
Activities				
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Member P.T.A.	16.3	58.4	6.4	32.6
Member Board of Education Had been member of Board of Education dur-	14.3	3.2	10.3	2.3
ing past 5 years	15.3	3.3	9.3	.3
Never voted in school election	16.2	23.4	14.3	31.4
Visited school once a year	19.4	38.4	5.3	16.3
Adult education	9.3	14.4	56.3	28.4

Adult education consisted in the main in agriculture and home economics extension lectures given by speakers from universities and colleges among rural families. In urban families, it consisted in the main of demonstration lectures regarding home appliances by public utility companies. Parents of both urban and rural families appear neglectful in visiting schools.

This study shows the chief differences between economic, recreational, social, and religious activities of rural and urban families. It does not show what the trends in these matters may be. That would require a series of similar studies over a considerable period of time—studies that by all means should be made in all parts of the country. The economic activities of these rural families are similar to the data of a former study by the writer of rural families in open country neighborhoods in Clark County, Illinois.³ This study shows that rural and urban families have similar cultural patterns in spite of a difference in location of the homes and mode of making a living, though there is considerable difference in the degree to which the patterns manifest themselves in the two areas.

It is hoped that this study will be of some use to those who are interested in the modern American family and will inspire other similar studies.

³ J. Roy Leevy, A Study of Rural Open Country Neighborhoods, Clark County, Illinois, 1937.



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PRELIMINARY SUMMARY OF THE MAIL BALLOT ON THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

The preliminary summary of the mail ballot on the report of the Committee on Organization is made as of November 15th, 1940, and is presented herewith to the membership of the Society.

Total membership, as of November 15th, 1940	1034
Total number of ballots received, November 15th	319
Percentage of members voting	30.9
Vote on Section I	
Approval	158
Approval without qualifications 55	
Approval with reservations 103	
Prefer terms Member and Associate 41	
Think requirements of Fellow too high	
Present membership should all be fellows	
Annual fees too high	
Disapproval	146
Vote on Section II	
Approval	215
Disapproval	
Approval of refund to regional membership.	83
Disapproval of refund	72
	1-
Vote on Section III	
Approval	
Disapproval	60
Vote on Section IV	
Approval	250
Disapproval	50
JAMES H. S. BO	-
Chairman of Committee on Organiz	

November 15th, 1940.

The report of the Committee on Organization which was voted on as indicated above was published in full in the February (1940) Review, Vol. V, pages 108-111.

American Sociological Society—Occupations. The census of membership has revealed that sociologists who are members of the Society are employed in nearly 250 different types of occupations. This list has been printed in a neat little pamphlet which may be obtained from H. A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, at \$18.00 per thousand (cost), \$10.00 for 500, \$5.00 for 250, etc.

This provides a very good answer to the question of what is possible in the way of making a living by "taking sociology." I should think departments would want to distribute these pamphlets generously among their students. It would not hurt anything to let our colleagues in other departments as well as university officials see this rather imposing list.—R. B.

Subcommittee on Participation of Sociologists in National Emergency Program. The president has appointed a subcommittee on the Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency Program, the personnel of which is: J. K. Folsom, chairman, H. P. Fairchild, E. H. Sutherland, Maurice T. Price and Donald Young. This committee will meet to formulate a program for consideration by the Society at its annual meetings. The committee would appreciate suggestions as to the nature of its work from any of our members.

Acknowledgement of Communications. The secretary would like to make a public acknowledgement of any communications which accompanied the Census of Membership and the ballot of the Committee on Organizations. Each of these additional contributions as to the attitudes of our members concerning the problem under consideration will be brought to the attention of the Committee on Organization.

Amendments. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the American Sociological Society, members of the Committee on Program wish to submit the following amendment:

"Revise Article VIII as follows:

Change Section 2 to Section 1; Change Section 3 to Section 2; Change Section 7 to Section 3; Delete Sections 1, 4, 5, and 6.

This eliminates Divisions and all that is said in Sections 4, 5, and 6 of the present Constitution is stated in the present Section 2 (to be Section 1 in the revision)."

The reasons for this amendment will be made clear in a report of the Committee to be submitted at the annual meeting.

HOWARD BECKER
SHELBY HARRISON
ROBERT MERTON
DONALD YOUNG
DWIGHT SANDERSON, Chairman

Committee on Public Relations. Alfred McClung Lee, chairman of this important committee, is anxious that all papers to be given at the annual meetings should be in his hands, at 100 Washington Square, New York City, by December 1, 1940, or by December 10 or 12 at the latest. If mimeographed, 25 copies would be appreciated.

The Committee needs these papers early in order to aid newsmen in the proper selection and presentation of material and thus lessen the danger that the Society and persons on the program may be presented to the public in a "bad light" because of hasty, ill-considered or out-of-context reporting. The press is only too happy to cooperate in this matter, but it cannot be done to the best advantage unless the Committee can get copies of the papers early.

Disposition of Papers Read at the Annual Meetings. Every paper read at the annual meetings becomes the property of the Society. Chairmen of Divisions and Sections should so inform the participants on their programs and collect and turn over to the secretary or editor all papers presented. Authors of such papers should not make any prior commitments for publication without consulting the editor of the Review nor should provisions for publication elsewhere than in the Review be made after the paper is given at the meetings until after the editorial board of the Review has had an opportunity to consider the paper for publication in our own official organ.—R. B.



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American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., has issued a 36-page booklet entitled "What the High Schools Ought to Teach." It may be had at 25¢ per copy (50¢ in board covers) with marked reductions for quantity orders (100 paper covered, 15¢ each). Ben G. Graham, chairman of a 10-man (and no woman) committee of well known educators, prepared the report, the result of a two days' discussion by the entire committee. The committee was appointed by the American Youth Commission and the report was prepared at their instance. Both the Committee and the A.Y.C. adopted it unanimously.

It contains vigorous criticism of the conventional subjects (history, mathematics, English, foreign languages, natural sciences, and vocational education). It advocates more emphasis on work while learning; teaching children how to read—really to read—; expansion of the social studies; more attention to physical and mental health and family life (it even mentions—

approvingly-sociology in this connection).

On the whole, it is a stimulating and socially intelligent statement. One wonders whether it will make any ripple on the stagnant pool of secondary education—by all odds the most important and probably most inadequate part of our whole educational system—poor teachers, cluttered, antediluvian curricula—poor in everything except buildings and athletic departments that ape colleges. High school teachers should be as able and well trained as college teachers—and should be paid as well.—R. B.

The American Youth Commission, 744 Jackson Place, Washington D. C., has just issued Matching Youth and Jobs, by Howard M. Bell. It appears that almost half of the business and industrial jobs require no more "education" than the ability to speak, read, and write. Two thirds of the jobs can be filled by eighth grade graduates. This would seem to sound the death knell of the vocational training fad and to demand increased emphasis on vocational guidance. It should also awaken people to the double-distilled folly and democratic danger of overemphasis on white-collar jobs, with its attendant prestige and snobocracy. Education above the eighth grade must be justified in terms of better citizenship, the development of capacities to live "the good life"-whatever that is-rather than as preparation for specific jobs. What is needed is an educational philosophy which glorifies the "Wearers of the Blue" (denim) and holds that a college education is a good investment for one who is going to follow the socially indispensable calling of garbage collector or lower left-hand-nut-tightener on the assembly line-and a decent income and economic security for such "indispensable" men. Such general education is the function of the high school; provision must be made for certain standard types of skilled labor-technical high schools; colleges and universities should be reserved entirely for the preparation of professional people, scientists, and creative artists.

The Committee for Conceptual Integration has scheduled two meetings during the annual meetings of the Society at Chicago, Dec. 27–29 inclusive. These will be held from 3 to 5 on Dec. 27 and 28. At one of them, a panel discussion on the organization and general program of the C.C.I. will be held. L. L. Bernard, F. S. Chapin, G. A. Lundberg, and Read Bain will start the discussion.

It should be noted that this committee is in no sense a constituent part of the American Sociological Society. Its meetings were printed in the preliminary program merely by way of announcement for the convenience of its members and any other persons who may want to attend. The C.C.I. itself is an informal, congenial interest group of members of the Society but it has no official status in the Society.

Anyone interested in the activities of this group is welcome to attend and participate. However, the dues are only 25¢ a year, payable to Albert Blumenthal, State Teachers College,

Marysville, Mo. Those interested should become paid up members.

The Committee has already stimulated a considerable amount of interest and work. Accounts of this may be had by writing to Mr. Blumenthal.

Consumers' Guide, Sept. 1940, prepared by the Consumers' Counsel Division of the USDA and issued by the Consumer Commissioner of NDAC is a masterpiece of arresting pictures and eloquent prose which tells a terrible story but suggests a happy ending; "45 million of us live below the safety line"—but "we have the land it takes, the machines and hands it takes to make us strong." The implication is that we also have the brains and will to do it. Harriet Elliott has, I'm sure. Her foreword is one of the best brief statements I have seen of our democratic problem and part of its solution. I feel better knowing she is the CC. I predict she will emerge from this fracas as one of the best known women in America. She quite obviously is one of the ablest.

About 100,000,000 Americans should read her "Clear Call" (200 words) and paste it in their hats. One of these days we shall accept and actualize the proposition that "production is for public consumption, not for private cash." Then we may become a real democracy. If Harriet Elliott can make this country "consumption conscious" and implement that consciousness, she will earn a place in the Galaxy of Great Women.

You better get your copy of the Food and National Defense issue of Consumers' Guide.—

Crime and the Anthropologist, by Robert K. Merton and M. F. Ashley-Montagu, in the July-Sept. American Anthropologist, analyzes E. A. Hooton's criminological research. This monumental work by an eminent anthropometrist will probably stand for years as a colossal example of how not to do it. It apparently violates almost all the rules of logic, statistics, and scientific procedure. Certainly, it neither refutes Goring's thesis nor proves Lombroso's. Neither the criminal nor the noncriminal control sample is representative, or even random. The check sample is small and quite untypical of the general population. Conclusions and obiter dicta are proliferated in flamboyant abandon, many of them having little or no relevance to the data (such as they are). The conclusions seem to flow from preconceptions and in many instances are contrary to the data rather than reasonable inferences from them.

This work, because of its volume and the popular reputation of its author, may exercise great influence upon the opinions of those who are still in bondage to authority and prestige. It will also doubtless be used by some who attempt to show the folly of statistical analysis of social data. That it is bad statistics and worse interpretation will be overlooked by many. Of course, it is unlikely the book will interfere with the scientific development of anthropology, criminology, or sociology. It may provoke some articles like "Crime and the Anthropologist," and will cause a transient ripple of sorrow among serious scientists—to think that so much talent and money were wasted so carelessly—and all in the name of science. Fortunately, it is not likely to exert so much influence as on later thought and research did Lombroso's work. In a short while, probably, it will be almost forgotten by scientists, except as a terrible example. Nonetheless, because of the popularizing flair of its author and his high academic position, its influence on the public mind will doubtless be deleterious for many years to come. It is too bad this had to happen—worse, however, for Hooton than for criminology, anthropology, and social statistics.

A silver lining may be found in this cloud by virtue of the fact that it contains a great mass of measurements of convicted criminals. If they are a fair sample of all criminals, which is highly doubtful, and if the measurements are accurate, which may be presumed, I suppose, then, if measurements were made of representative samples of noncriminals in the same areas where these convicted criminals originated, and comparisons were made, (with other factors matched, such as age, sex, education, social class, race, nationality, etc.) something might be found out about the biological differences, if any, between criminals and noncriminals and the correlations, if any, between certain biological traits and types of crime. However, it is doubtful whether such differences, if found, would throw much light upon Hooton's thesis that crime is "caused" by "biological inferiority," "primitiveness," "organic degeneration," etc. These terms need to be defined in some objective scientific manner—which Hooton fails to do. It may be impossible to do it, because these terms are normative in meaning. There is obviously an important problem here for a competent anthropometrist—but he needs to be informed about many things of which Hooton is apparently ignorant; and he needs to be

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logical, careful, and unburdened with emotionally charged preconceptions; that is, he needs to be thoroughly scientific.

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Nothing said here should be attributed to Merton or Montagu. This is not a review of their review. It is merely a brief reaction induced by reading their excellent article which strikes me as fair and impartial though it is a devastating appraisal of Hooton's work. I doubt the validity of their A-P-I analysis unless, of course, Hooton contends that "closeness to the ape" is evidence of "biological inferiority." In that case, their point is well taken. However, I am unable to see that apes (or termites) are any more "biologically inferior" than men. If survival be the criterion, then cockroaches and ginkgo trees are vastly "superior" to men. Without accepted criteria, the terms "inferior" and "superior" are meanings for scientific purposes however useful they may be for name-calling and other activities for the relief of emotional distress. My scientific emotions are aroused and I am distressed when a man of Hooton's obvious brilliance, industry, and academic standing produces such a confused, loosely phrased, logically defective, and statistically weak essay as these studies appear to be.—R. B.

The Indian Journal of Social Work, Volume I, Number I, appeared June 1940. This quarterly, under the editorship of Clifford Manshardt, is published by the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Byculla (Bombay 8), Bombay, India, at 10 Rs per year, 2-8-0 per copy.

This is an attractively printed journal of 150 pages, with ten original articles, plus book reviews. India would seem to be a fertile field for social work and all sociologists should welcome the development of this new school and excellent journal.

Institute of Public Affairs has issued a 21-page booklet entitled "Fighting the Fifth Column in the Americas" by Edward L. Bernays. This is written by an expert in such matters and contains a program as well as an analysis. Although not so stated, I imagine the Institute or Mr. Bernays will supply copies free to specialists in public opinion, social control, and perhaps to any teacher or interested student. It is a useful pamphlet.—R. B.

The International Harvester Company has issued a very attractive booklet describing its labor policies and general welfare program. It is called "Harvester Policies for Harvester People." If it even approximates in practice what is outlined in this brochure, it looks as if the I.H.C. is one of the more socially intelligent and civilized great corporations. I imagine the booklet may be had free from the Chicago office, though no address is given on the booklet. It is evidently prepared primarily to be placed in the hands of each new employee.—R. B.

The National Archives. The Archivist of the United States announces the appointment of Fred W. Shipman, formerly Chief of the Division of State Department Archives, as Director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, N. Y. Coburn B. Kidd of the Division of Commerce, Department Archives, has resigned to practice law, and Robert A. East of the Division of Classification has resigned to accept a teaching position in Brooklyn College.

Among the records recently received which might interest some sociologists are the records of the bond issues for the construction of the Pacific railroads, 1862-78; maps of railroads, oil pipelines, and telegraph lines, 1878-1913, used by the Justice Department in connection with investigations and litigation; and the records of the Special Committee of the Senate to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, 1938-39.

The National Conference on Family Relations will meet at Chicago, Dec. 26-27, 1940. This is its third annual meeting. Under the presidency of Adolf Meyer, of Johns Hopkins, president, and E. W. Burgess, of the University of Chicago, secretary, it has held six regional conferences during the current year, at New York City, Seattle, Cambridge, Cincinnati, Cedar Rapids, and Los Angeles.

Living, the quarterly organ of the N.C.F.R., may be had for \$1.50 a year. It is included in the annual dues of \$2.00 which entitles all members to attend all conferences of the N.C.F.R. without further charge. Students may become members and receive Living for \$1.00. Address all communications to the secretary, E. W. Burgess, at 1126 E. 59th St., Chicago.

National Recreation Congress met in its 25th annual convention at Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 30 to Oct. 4, 1940, and discussed the general topic "Recreation under the Present World Conditions." The program was organized under thirty-five headings for each of which a dozen or more questions were formulated. These topics and questions might be used as teaching aids in recreation courses. The names of the leaders and participants are not give in the 32-page booklet.

Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, has just published Pamphlets 47 and 48, "America's Children" by Maxwell S. Stewart, and "If War Comes... Mobilizing Machines and Men," by Percy W. Bidwell. These sell at 10¢ each; for less in quantity. The first is based on reports of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, 1940; the second, on the War Department's Industrial Mobilization Plan and legislation up to Sept. 10, 1940. Harold J. Tobin and Percy W. Bidwell's book, Mobilizing Civilian America, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, 145 E. 65th St., N. Y., is the immediate source of the pamphlet. Serious students should read the book and all good Americans should read the pamphlet.—R. B.

The Social Science Research Council announces the appointment of two research secretaries to its staff, Philip E. Mosely, associate professor of history at Cornell University, and Lloyd G. Reynolds, associate in political economy at Johns Hopkins University. Mr. Mosely has been granted a year's leave of absence from Cornell to undertake his duties with the Council, and Mr. Reynolds will devote half his time to Council work. In addition to participation in general staff work, Mr. Mosely will be especially concerned with the development of research in the field of international relations and Mr. Reynolds in the field of employment research.

The Sociological Research Association met at the University of Chicago, Sept. 4-5, 1940. The general topic was "Recent Trends in Research." Ernest W. Mowrer, Northwestern University dealt with the family; Carl C. Taylor, USDA., with rural sociology; E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa, with race relations; and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University, with social psychology. The formal discussants were G. B. Vold, G. A. Lundberg, J. H. Kolb, H. Blumer, C. S. Johnson, D. R. Young, R. T. LaPiere, and T. Parsons, but of the 25 members present, about 95 percent participated in the discussion of each paper, and 1∞ percent participated in the program.

This is the first time the S.R.A. has met at a different time and place from the national Society, but it was such a stimulating and profitable meeting that it was decided to continue this procedure, at least for next year.

Studies in Philosophy and Social Science is being published three times yearly by the Institute of Social Research, Morningside Heights, New York. The price is \$3.00 per year, \$1.00 per copy. Address William Solloch, 344 E. 17th St., New York.

In a sense, this organization is a resurrection (under the auspices of Columbia University) of the Institut für Sozialforschung founded at Frankfurt in 1923. Thereafter, it published the Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung. After the fall of the Republic, many of the scholars who supported it came to this country, and organized the Institute of Social Research. Now it has decided to continue its former journal under the new title, with a somewhat enlarged and generalized program, attempting to synthesize the contributions of philosophy, sociology psychology and economics into a comprehensive theory of society. "The Institute hopes to combine the American tradition of empirical research with the European tradition of comprehensive theory." The contents of the first issue are definitely in the European tradition, but contents of the first issue of 1941, though mostly by European scholars, appears to be in the American tradition. This issue will consist largely of reports on radio research.

We welcome this almost-new journal and wish it a long and useful life. It should be generously supported by American scholars.

United States, Department of State. Under the terms of the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, ten graduate students (as of Sept. 23, 1940) from other American republics have been selected to study in the U. S. Four more are to be chosen. Eight American graduate students and three professors have been chosen to teach and study in other American countries. In spite of the fact that the Convention was intended "to make available to the people of the other American Republics a more accurate knowledge

of the progress of science, the humanities, the technology and the artistic achievements of the U. S.," it appears, from the State Department release, that none of the students or professors sent or received were sociologists.—R. B.

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University Settlement, in New York, has provided a few fellowships of \$500 each for promising young men who are doing graduate work in New York City in the social sciences or one of the learned professions. They must have an A.B. degree and show evidence of enduring interest in social and public problems. They would have to devote about half of their time to the work of the Settlement for the eleven months' period for which the fellowship is granted. A free room is provided at the Settlement, but they are expected to pay for their board at the House (about \$40 per month), and of course will have to pay their general expenses as well as the costs of their graduate work.

It is hoped that professors will bring this opportunity to the attention of their students. Those interested should write to Albert J. Kennedy, University Settlement, Rivington and Eldridge Streets, New York City.

War, Draft, Jobs, and Marriage. A recent survey of 42 cities by the Jewellers-Keystone Circular (October 1940) shows that for the period Jan. to Aug. 1939 and Jan.-Aug., 1940, the number of marriages has increased 15 percent. Decreases were found in only five cities, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, and Providence. This is probably due to the out-migration of people in these regional areas. As between August, 1939, and August, 1940, the increase was 57.6 percent, Omaha, Providence, Richmond, and San Francisco being the only cities showing fewer marriages in August, 1940, than in August, 1939.

These are very crude figures, of course, since they do not take into account the population changes or age-distributions of the cities, the marriage laws, marriages in adjacent jurisdictions, etc., but they seem to indicate that marriages are increasing somewhat faster than population. Some of this is undoubtedly due to depression-delay as well as to draft-stimulation. If the jewellers would conduct their investigations in terms of rates and take account of some of the factors affecting marriage-rates, their figures would be more meaningful.—R. B.

NEWS FROM COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

University of California. Dorothy S. Thomas, who has been doing research at the Giannini Foundation the past year, has been appointed to the newly created professorship of rural sociology. She has also been appointed as rural sociologist in the Agricultural Experiment Station and as rural sociologist in the Giannini Foundation. It is hoped that this is the beginning of a long-needed department of sociology at the University of California—one of the few outstanding universities which does not have such a department.—R. B.

Colgate University. Fenton Keyes of Yale University has been appointed to an instructorship.

Columbia University, Teachers College. The faculty has issued a 13-page manifesto called "Democracy and Education in the Current Crisis," August, 1940. It may be had from the Bureau of Publications, 525 West 120th St., New York, singles copies free, \$1.80. per hundred. It lists the assets of our nation, discusses the meaning of democracy and presents a 60-item Creed of Democracy. The statement is "We believe in and will endeavor to make a democracy which"—does so and so—60 admirable sentiments with most of which one heartily agrees, but one is forced to admit that we are miles away from the realization of most of the 60 ideals, e.g., "insures to all a sense of security (unemployed? or about to be fired? or drafted?)"; "permits no armed force not under public control (plant guards? private "detectives"?)"; "maintains human rights to be more important than property rights" (with millionaires and starvelings?); "rights and opportunities accorded to one shall be accorded all" (Negro voting, poor people's children going to college, getting decent medical care, housing, etc., ad nauseam?). These are good ideas for a democracy, but we should not be too smug about the degree to which we have attained them. The best reason for defending "democracy" is that it may offer a better chance of attaining democracy. If this Creed is correct we still have a long way to go. The best we can say is that we more closely approximate democracy than some other countries one could name.—R. B.

University of Connecticut. N. L. Whetten, professor of rural sociology, was recently made dean of the Graduate School. He will also continue his teaching and research work in rural sociology.

Duke University. Howard Jensen is on sabbatical leave during the first semester of 1940-1941, traveling and studying and in New York City, New Haven, and other sociological centers.

The measurement of happiness (along lines opened up by Burgess, Cottrell, Terman, Goodwin Watson, and others), and investigation of the sociological implications of such measurements, are being made the central theme of a series of studies under the auspices of the sociology department at Duke. A handbook for such research is incorporated in *Chart for Happiness*, scheduled for publication by Macmillan on November 6, 1940.

Personality and the Family, by Hornell and Ella Hart, is being thoroughly revised, enlarged

and brought up to date, for republication early in 1941 by Heath & Co.

The departments of sociology and psychiatry at Duke University are cooperating in a joint program of study. Clifford Johnson, formerly of the University of Iowa, has been given a special fellowship for the study of cultural and sociological factors in the family and community backgrounds of patients admitted to the psychiatric clinic of Duke Hospital.

University of Georgia. B. O. Williams, formerly of Clemson College, became the new head of the sociology department Sept. 1, 1940.

University of Illinois. J. E. Hulett, Jr., has returned as associate in sociology after a year in Washington as Associate Social Psychologist with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA.

University of Kentucky. An extensive research program is being carried on in the field of community organization for land use planning. These studies are centered in Garrard, Hopkins, and Grant counties.

Middlesex University, near Cambridge, Mass. George Devereux, formerly of the Worcester State Hospital, has been appointed to the department of sociology.

Milwaukee-Downer College, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has called Margaret Pahlman to teach sociology with the rank of instructor. Miss Pahlman is a candidate for the doctor's degree at the University of Chicago.

University of Mississippi. During the spring semester, 1941, Paul Foreman will be on leave to attend the General Education Board symposium on population research at Louisiana State University. During his absence, William A. Fuson will be with the department as acting assistant professor. Mr. Fuson has completed most of his work for the doctorate at the University of Wisconsin and has been a statistician for the Kansas State Board of Public Welfare.

Morton B. King, Jr., has been awarded his doctor's degree from the University of Wisconsin. His research was a study of attitudes toward public assistance programs in a rural Tennessee county and was carried out on a fellowship provided by the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Paul Foreman's dissertation, Mississippi Population Trends, also completed on a Rosenwald grant, has been published for the Joint University Libraries in Nashville, Tennessee.

New York University. Walter Webster Argow has joined the sociology department to handle courses in criminology and correctional methods. He was formerly Clinic Research Associate at the New York State Training School for Boys and also has conducted a correctional education program in the Connecticut county jails.

North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh, N. C. New opportunities for research and graduate training in rural sociology and related social sciences have been made possible by a grant of funds from the General Education Board. A new department of rural sociology has been created. It is headed by C. Horace Hamilton, formerly Senior Social Scientist in the USDA, Selz Mayo and Gertrude M. Cox are the other members

of the staff. Cox, formerly with the Iowa Agriculture Experiment Station, will have charge of the statistical laboratory. Dr. Hamilton was professor of rural sociology in the College, 1931–1936, was with the Texas Agriculture Experiment Station, 1936–39, and from 1939 to Sept. 1940, was with the USDA.

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Northwestern University. Ernest R. Mowrer has been appointed editor of a new sociological series by F. S. Crofts and Company.

Ohio State University. Jack Harris, who was trained at Columbia and recently has returned from field work among the Ibo-speaking people of Nigeria, has taken charge of the work in anthropology during the absence-on-leave of John P. Gillin who is at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale for a year on a Carnegie Corporation fellowship.

Perry P. Denune has been appointed chairman of the department replacing F. E. Lumley who will continue on the staff. Mr. Lumley asked to be relieved of administrative duties some time ago, but was prevailed upon to continue until a successor could be chosen. Denune and Lumley both came to Ohio State in 1921.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. O. D. Duncan is on his sabbatical leave and has been granted a General Education Board fellowship for research at Louisiana State University for the academic year.

William H. Sewell, Jr., has been made professor and acting head of the department.

Robert T. McMillan completed his residence work at Louisiana State University and returned to the department with the rank of assistant professor.

William C. Loring, Jr., who has completed his residence requirements at Harvard, has been reappointed instructor as a substitute for Theodore G. Standing and Miss Grace Fernandes.

Grace Fernandes is on leave and is now Consultant on Standards of Assistance with the Oklahoma State Department of Public Welfare.

Theodore G. Standing is on leave and is now Regional Sociologist with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA., Little Rock, Arkansas.

Charles D. Roberts and E. A. Gaston, research assistants in the department, received fellowships to do advanced graduate work at Iowa State University and University of Nebraska, respectively.

Southern Methodist University. Studies in Sociology, Volume IV, Numbers 1-2, 52 pages, 75¢ per copy, has just been issued. It is titled "Texas Communities" and contains ten interesting articles. It is a very commendable issue and the department and the local chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta both should be congratulated. Students of community organization and disorganization will find useful material in this publication. Most of the reports are the result of systematic research, usually done in connection with requirements for the M.A. degree. They are neither impressionistic nor trivial. They represent real research into actual societal data. Some of them, evidently by undergraduates, are somewhat impressionistic, but they at least testify to actual sociological observation and description.—R. B.

University of Toronto. Edward C. Devereux, formerly of the University of Connecticut and more recently tutor at Harvard University, has been appointed to an instructorship.

Washington State College. The fourth Institute for Town and Country Pastors, sponsored by the rural sociology department, was held on July 8 to 19, 1940, Courses were given to the ministers on agricultural economics, personality and social adjustment, rural sociology, and rural church leadership.

Paul H. Landis has been appointed dean of the Graduate School, effective in September,

University of Wisconsin. Hans Gerth, who taught last year at the University of Illinois, is acting assistant professor of social psychology.

George W. Hill has been promoted to associate professor of rural sociology.

Lancelot Hogben, of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, will offer a course in social biology the second semester.

E. A. Ross has been made Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union of New York City. Professor Ross has recently revised his high school text, Civic Sociology, under the new title American Society and Its Problem (World Book Company).

Howard Becker taught in the summer session at the Leland Stanford Junior University, Contemporary Social Theory, a symposium edited by Howard Becker, Harry Elmer Barnes. and Frances Bennett Becker was published by the D. Appleton-Century Company in October. The symposium will include chapters by George Lundberg, the late Alexander Goldenweiser, Talcott Parsons, and others.

A revised edition of the Study of Rural Society, by J. H. Kolb, appeared in the spring (Houghton-Mifflin).

Little, Brown and Company has just published Modern Human Relations: An Elementary Sociology, by Norman M. Kastler. This is a textbook at the high school level.

J. L. Gillin is engaged in the second revision of his Criminology and Penology (D. Appleton-Century Company).

Graduate students who went to teaching appointments in September are Robert C. Schmid, Vanderbilt University; Howard E. Cottam, Pennsylvania State College; Walter Slocum, South Dakota State College of Agriculture; Rockwell Smith, Garrett Biblical Institute; Zetta Bankert, Iowa State College; John Teter, Milwaukee State Teachers' College; Preston Valien, Fisk University; Allan Eister, Friends' Central School, Overbrook, Pennsylvania; Wilbur Brookover, Butler University.

Yale University. Number 1, volume X, of the Bulletin of the Associates in the Science of Society has just been issued. The editors assert that when this volume is completed in May 1941, the Bulletin will go out of existence unless there is a roaring demand for its continuance. Though I am no Yale man, and no great admirer of Sumnerian sociology, I for one will be sorry to see the Bulletin commit hara-kiri. It has been a little oasis in my editorial desert.

Mr. Keller contributes a thoughtful and thought-provoking letter to his "amici carissimi," the centennial edition of Folkways is mentioned (too bad its foreword could not have been written by a sociologist or anthropologist), the coming of Malinowski and Bennet to Yale is noted, and the going of John Syrjamaki to New York University, Mason Record to the University of Connecticut, Theodore C. Weiler to Middlebury College, Henry A. Baker to Union College, and Fenton Keyes to Colgate University, is duly set forth.

We hope the Bulletin doesn't die!-R. B.



BOOK REVIEWS



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Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction. By KARL MANNHEIM, translated by Edward Shils. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940. Pp. xxii+469. \$3.50.

Man is polygonal and no single formula will fit him. Mannheim is more competent in taking novel perspectives than in organizing them. He does not evidence skill in deducing from large discourse specific hypotheses and constructing the means of their testing. His work loses in firm specificity to gain in novel conceptual optics. But his problems are significant and he tries to point out a new set of answers to them. He presents a learned "pep talk" for teams of heavy-duty thinkers, challenging them to attack the big themes of the epoch, to locate them within the century-pivoting changes, and to explain them.

The book consists of a translation of Mensch und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Umbaus (1935), a Hobhouse lecture of 1934, articles in English journals, contributions to symposia, and some passages not hitherto published. It was five or six years in the making, It "had no uniform plan . . . [but] . . . tried to reach the same center from different points at the periphery." This attempt did not result in architectural grace. Edward Shils is to be congratulated upon translating what is often heavy-freighted and Romantic German into a cleanly slick and fast-paced English.

I. Theoretic Orientation and Equipment

Mannheim's world of discourse is the social sciences. He has teased from each of them perspectives that are valuable, and these perspectives are not left entirely unrelated. The integration of diverse sciences cannot proceed by an encyclopedic pooling of facts already found, nor on the level of sheer systematics, nor by methodological quarrels and faiths. You have heard

this before. But, concretely, how may we form a united research front? There are implicit in the book several considered views of the role of sociological

analysis.

One is the constructing of working models of various social structures in their totality, typological models into which specific researches may be fitted. Such hypothetical models would help overcome the partial perspectives due to ill-advised specialization. Second, there is the idea of setting forth social mechanisms explanatory and connective of seemingly diverse events. It is necessary to trace the intermediate links between the many dimensions of various societal orders. This requires "interdependent thinking," which is the capacity to trace out the effects of a particular element in one of the abstract spheres (such as economics, psychology, and so on) and later to institute the interactions of the spheres themselves as a problem. There is an unfinished metaphysical rationale of such thinking: the structure of reality is grasped in "the multi-dimensional nature of social events"; and a pluralistic view of historical patterning: different spheres take the historical initiative in different epochs. Third, Mannheim urges social thinkers to take up again the comprehensive themes of the Enlightenment. We have specialized ourselves away from the greatest problems, and then justified our inability by formal methodology or by attention to the minutiae of administrative practice. With increasingly able techniques of problematization we could break up big themes for empirical solution without loosing our grasp upon them as central wholes or being engulfed in speculative phrasemaking. Mannheim himself restates the problem of reason in society in terms of the functions and consequences of two kinds of rationality.

The strand in Man and Society which links it with the author's previously translated work is the conception that contemporary changes include the spheres of thought as well as the social, political, and economic worlds. Through these pages are carried brief analyses and sociological histories of types of thinking which have arisen from various societal structures. Out of this approach comes the positive statement of the methods indicated above. Mannheim infers methodological consequences from sociological analyses of ideas and mind as they lie connected with social situations. As a formal discussion of methodology this theme is left incomplete (as it was in Ideology and Utopia). But I am convinced that Mannheim is approaching the methodological problems of the social sciences in a fruitful manner. It is a legitimate extension of the sociology of knowledge, and it continues one of its firm sources: the attempt to discuss political problems without being a naive victim of bias. It implements the ascension to a perspective outside of conflicting ideologies because it situates them as features of understood social processes. Thus, it formulates live problems answerable by observation and analysis out of abstract "issues" and constructs methodological controls by not merely thinking of the objects of study, but by also forming clear conceptions of our ways of thinking about them.

Another central theoretic stress is "the need for a psychology which

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¹ Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge. By Karl Mannheim, translated by L. Wirth and E. Shils. New York, 1936.

would be socially and historically relevant." "Psychological problems" should be systematically located within wider hypotheses concerning major social divisions and trends. Sociologists should study the structural forms and sociological conditions of particular social-historical types (such as the white-collar worker in the movement from an agrarian to an industrial economy). Concrete motives and actions cannot be explained by a "general psychology" of "man." Mannheim's presentation of this view does not go beyond the relevant American literature, except in his daringly concrete usage of it in an explanation of the drift down to war.

All too often, however, he slips into a psychoanalytic model of "explanation." He is too quick and loose with imputations of "primitive impulses," "sublimations," and "psychic regressions." However tempered it may be with sociological settings, the psychoanalytic blend is not integrated in a consistently critical manner with the sociological. In practice, Mannheim has not attained the genuine sociological psychology which he so ably projects.

II. Structural Changes of Contemporary Societies

Mannheim's theoretical presentation of this intellectual equipment is more successful than the results of its use in characterizing "the basic trends in modern society."

"Most of the symptoms of our time," he writes, "are due to the transition from laissez-faire to a planned society." Changes flow in rapid tempo from this structural transition. The dialectic of history (refurbished as "objective dynamic" and implemented by "planners") will perhaps synthesize a planned democracy from the thesis of laissez-faire and the antithesis of "planless regulation." Present crises are noises made by the clash of this half-regulation and the drift.

The transition from a "democracy of the few to a mass society explains another set of changes." This "mass society" is one of the least substantiated notions in the book. One wishes Mannheim had characterized it less with words like "emotional" and "irrational" and more with such indices as voting trends. It should also be related more precisely and rigorously to his "fundamental democratization," the trend in bureaucratic organization, "functional and substantial rationality," and the social-political incidences of industrialization.

A third set of changes is accounted for by the shifts in social technique. A comparison of E. A. Ross's 1901 analysis² with Mannheim's 1940 edition is here interesting and illuminating. In the former, "publics" were conceived, on the whole, as safeguards against professionalism and bureaucracy. In 1940 the stress is more on the "need" to control public opinion by administrative devices; much space is given to analysis of the conscious establishment and coordination of publics and their psychological elements. In brief, the concern is with the techniques of controlling controls. Mannheim has worked out a penetrating set of critiques of Marxism and of several species of Liberalism. His long section on social control and techniques raises fundamental problems.

² Social Control.

III. Character and Problems of Planning

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Starting with a sometimes critical, many-sided, and always stimulating analysis of what is happening to world social structures, Mannheim advances toward more positive and constructive statements... and the analytic rigor relaxes. The critical analysis of existing societies is not firmly or logically connected with his hopeful discussion of planned democracy. Between these two concerns there is a gap, and from this gap spring the practical inadequacies of the book.

Particularly lacking is a carry-over from the analysis to the concern with planning of the distribution of power groupings. There is, for example, no hard-headed attention paid to the huge concentrations of economic and political power which have been in "key positions" for years and which have been "planning" quite "rationally." There is no attempt to handle the vital problems of private property in a corporate economy.

Nor has Mannheim descended to a concrete analysis of which specific groups, or even types of groups, he thinks (a) likely to obtain operative power in the democracies, and (b) would like to attempt actualization of his type of planning. Repeatedly the grossly unsociologic "we" is used. Exactly whom does this "we" include? Since he is not a magician, it cannot embrace others than those influenced in some manner by books of the kind he is writing. Who are these? They are the very ones whose decline in prestige and power he himself has traced. Has he forgotten the existent power groups which are concentrated in or close to his "key positions for planning," and which are taking the historical initiative all over the globe? The concrete and perhaps discouraging problems of the power-means of planning are simply not confronted with the cold and fishy eye.

Nor are the character and ends of what he means by planning satisfactorily portrayed. This inadequate treatment is bottomed on failure squarely to face the deceptively simple question: Planning for what? Neither the mechanisms of policy determination in a "liberal democracy" nor the possibility of various groups influencing them are satisfactorily discussed. He does not address himself to the question because of his notion of planning as a sort of "strategy," as "experimental." Specific and generic problems fall untouched into this yawning gap. Now "strategy" without any master resolution of major clashing issues and firm plans to handle them will often sell out to near-drift. Certainly it is little different from "planless regulation." You do x for p, then y for x, then z for y. Experimentalism in government will come out with everybody happy only if the patterns of contingencies themselves happen to make for everybody being happy. Genuine planning would have to take a standpoint outside the accepted circle of contingencies, and Mannheim's does not.

But two things must be said for Mannheim on planning: (a) He does not merely plead and persuade; he attempts to analyze planning as a type of

⁸ Shils translates: "Planning is strategy, and strategy is a process in which an action requires only the means to carry it out during the action itself" (223). A check with *Mensch und Gesellschaft* (p. 191) indicates that this key sentence should read: "... only acquires..."

thought. Such a view flows from sociology of knowledge, is another practical consequence of that discipline, and here Mannheim is sharp. (b) On the abstract level he has conclusively demonstrated that his conception of freedom is not incompatible with his conception of planning. This is not, however, an amazing point. Obviously, "you could" plan production, e.g., and still have spheres of "free speech." The issue of planning and freedom is important only in its concrete form: Freedom for whom? Freedom in what spheres? And this Mannheim does not answer. He does repeatedly allege that Germany has not "really" planned and that it has allowed no place for freedom. This is not true. Many social roles (e.g., even minor police officers) have been given great powers of personal decision. These particular spheres are simply not those wanted free by Mannheim.

With the slippery fingers of the mind we are all attempting to grasp what is happening in various sectors of the civilization of the West. Compartmentalizing contradictory reports, many believe one thing or the other. Others go into histories and seek material for analogous extensions into some future. Some quantify all they can, even if it be minute, and plot the slow "sure" trends. There are those who dissect single individuals and trace in them what they think is macroscopic. Some stare transfixed by confusion and the long slip to the edge. It must be said that Karl Mannheim does a little of all this, and it must be recorded that his analysis is exciting, sometimes thorough, and that it is alert to the new directions.

C. WRIGHT MILLS

University of Wisconsin

Dilemmas of Leadership in the Democratic Process. By Chester I. Barnard. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University, 1939. Pp. 27. \$.10.

An Introduction to Public Opinion. By Harwood L. Childs. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1940. Pp. vi+151. \$1.75.

The Plans of Men. By LEONARD W. Doob. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. ix+411. \$3.00.

The pamphlet by Barnard, who is president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Co., considers four dilemmas inherent in the democratic process: (1) the opposition between partial consent and complete conformance; (2) the discrepancy between abstract decision and concrete action; (3) timelags; and (4) political conflict. Later he deals with three dilemmas of leadership: (1) appropriate aim with effective action, and politics; (2) leadership and executive position; and (3) diffusion of responsibility.

While the analysis is penetrating it is marred by its brevity. The author states a thesis but fails to prove it. For instance, he declares that if a democracy has widely diverse races or interests, it is ineffective unless matters of the economic interests of individuals are excluded. This is an important assertion but the author makes no attempt to document it.

Child's volume is a series of thought-provoking lectures to business men, in which he analyzes public relations, public opinion, and propaganda. His thesis is essentially this: the basic problem of public relations is to adjust

them so that they will promote the public interest. This in turn is discovered by finding out what public opinion says it is. We conform to public

opinion as well as mold and guide it.

While recognizing that public opinion polls are valuable, he believes that they are conditioned by the necessity of selling their results to private interests. This often prevents the polling of opinion on questions which have great social significance. He advocates some method of polling which would be socially controlled. He criticizes the Institute of Propaganda Analysis for showing the devices and methods which propagandists use without finding out why certain types of propaganda spread. "Instead of trying to find out something the Institute is merely trying to prove something." It seems doubtful whether this criticism of an institute which is still in its initial stages is well founded, for, of necessity, the methods propagandists use must first be analyzed. The question of why certain forms of propaganda spread is much more complex, and while Childs raises it, he himself ignores the task of answering it. An excellent chapter on the propaganda devices of the New York World's Fair should have been required reading for all visitors.

On the whole the book is well done, and those interested in studying

public opinion will not want to ignore it.

Doob's effort is more ambitious. He has tried to evaluate the possibilities of planning by means of an analysis of biology, sociology, political science, psychology, and psychiatry, concluding with a summary of the contribu-

tions they make to social planning.

In doing this, Doob draws a distinction between individual plans, plans which function for particular activities, and "master plans." He defines the latter as "a plan which attempts to prescribe almost all the goals which the individuals can seek and almost all the means they may employ to attain these goals." He is doubtful about the wisdom of "master plans,"

but enthusiastic about less general planning.

The book will contribute little that is new to the sociologist. In covering such a wide range the treatment is of necessity brief and general. There are relatively few concrete examples, and suggestions are often vague. For instance, the author proposes that "the basic American principle of permitting every one to vote for public office might be modified so that only those directly affected by a particular office will have the privilege of choosing the official." He then fails to explain what concretely would be involved in applying this theory to American life.

The author is to be commended for undertaking this work. The attempt to correlate social science with the problem of social direction and social

control is much needed.

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New School for Social Research

Six Contemporaneous Revolutions. By Roger Bigelow Merriman. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1938. Pp. viii+230. \$2.50.

In this detailed historical study the author describes, analyzes, and compares the Puritan Revolution in England with five other anti-monarchical

revolutions that swept over Europe during the two middle decades of the seventeenth century. The first chapter is a factual account of the events in Catalonia, Portugal, and Naples when the authority of the King of Spain was challenged; of the Puritan Revolution and Cromwell's dictatorship; of the revolt of the lawyers and princes in France known as the Fronde; and of the revolt in the Netherlands in 1650 and the displacement of the centralized monarchical Stadtholderate of the House of Orange by the republican pensionary government of the DeWitts. The second chapter formulates some generalizations on the basis of the events described. The third chapter traces the relations of these revolutions to one another, and describes the policies of established authority and the revolutionists of each country towards the uprisings which were simultaneously occurring in the others. A final chapter briefly compares these events with the European

convulsions of 1848 and 1917 onwards.

To the sociologist the generalizations offered by the author will be of most interest. First, the immediate though not always the most fundamental cause of every revolution was financial, in the form of arbitrary taxation. Second, the revolutions were directed against unpopular ministers rather than against the monarchs: "The institution of monarchy . . . was still, generally speaking, sacred" (p. 90). Third, differences of church and creed rarely entered in, and considerations of politics and commerce were paramount. England, in this as in other respects, was a marked exception, and the author gives it as his opinion that the religious question "was in the final analysis the most fundamental of all" (p. 91). Fourth, the revolutionists did not avail themselves of the many opportunities that were afforded them to join forces, and this inability to cooperate is also characteristic of the revolutions of 1848 and of those following the first World War. In each case "national rivalries proved stronger than the virus of revolution" (p. 213). "Conditions today may differ more widely from those of 1848 than from those of two centuries before, but as long as the spirit of nationalism remains dominant, it seems unlikely that any country will be induced voluntarily and permanently to abandon its own established institutions as a result of influences brought to bear from without. Each still demands the right to work out its own salvation" (p. 217).

To what extent this last generalization is still valid in a world of conflicting ideologies which transcend national boundaries may be questioned. One may also question the view that religion was the most fundamental of all factors in the Puritan Revolution. True, the Independents were convinced that they were fighting God's battle. But may they not be regarded as the rising bourgeoisie asserting its power and going to extremes not thought possible in other countries? "No reverence for tradition or established order restrained them. They cut off their king's head 'with the crown upon it' and established a republic" (p. 92). No wonder Cromwell is described as "a demon of Hell who bathed in his parricidal and sacreligious hands in the blood of his king" (p. 92). Such language is reminiscent of the bitter tirades

against Lenin.

Here was a revolution that changed not only governments but the very

fabric of social life. But can such transformations be predicated of the other revolutions? Throughout the book there is a political emphasis to the exclusion of economic and social aspects. Thus the author speaks of "established authority" which is defined as "the government against which the revolution in the different countries was originally directed" (p. 116). This is the only definition offered, and in other cases revolution, rebellion, revolt, and uprising are used indiscriminately.

I. RUMNEY

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University of Newark

The Strategy of Terror. By Edmond Taylor. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. Pp. 278. \$2.50.

Taylor's book is an interesting, semi-professional effort to describe the psychological tactics employed by the German government to demoralize the peoples of France, Poland, and England prior to the beginning of actual hostilities in the present war. The author makes use of the popular term, "war of nerves," to describe one type of effort put forth by the Nazi government. He terms the war in the mind, or the war of nerves, "an organized conflict of group-wills," and it is from this standpoint primarily that parts of the book will interest sociologists.

The author, a newspaper correspondent for an American paper, was stationed in Paris before the outbreak of the war. Both he and his wife were sufficiently introspective, foresighted, or historically conscious, to keep diaries during the months preceding the outbreak of war on the third of September, 1939. Many quotations are made from these diaries which afford a keen insight into the ways of thinking and feeling common to their intellectual and social groups in a Europe on the verge of war. Numerous tales, rumors, and reports of conversations during these trying months are reproduced, and these recapture many social and emotional currents of those days, as American newspaper readers will discover.

This reviewer must be ungracious enough to say that the book tells more about Mr. and Mrs. Taylor and their reaction to the on-rushing crisis than it does about the dissolution of social solidarity through the employment of psychological devices and ruses. The author wanted to capture a bit of important history in the making and to reduce it to some type of systematic explanation, but his materials have been too close at hand for the attainment of the necessary detachment. Nevertheless, this is a book well worth reading.

JAMES H. BARNETT

University of Connecticut

Dictatorship in the Modern World. Ed. by Guy Stanton Ford. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1939. Pp. xiv+362. \$3.50.

If, as Max Lerner points out in this book, the world may be entering upon a new age of despots, the present edition of a book that first appeared in 1935 is indeed timely. More than double the size of its predecessor, this edition is almost a new book, presenting a panorama that includes not only

the dictatorships of Italy, Germany and Russia, but those of the Near East, the Far East, and Latin America. Moreover, fresh treatment has been given to the economics of fascism, the problem of succession in a dictator-

ship, the role of propaganda, and the position of women.

To give our own classification of the essays, there is first the historical and factual group, by far the largest in the book. The Mussolini regime is surveyed by Henry R. Spencer, who poses the question: "After Mussolini-What?" The same question, with Hitler substituted for Mussolini, is asked by Harold C. Deutsch, who sees the answer in the course foreign relations will take. He investigates the origins of dictatorship in Germany, and concludes that there is a remarkable continuity between the old and the new Germany, between dictatorship and the precedents of Prussianism and paternalism. John D. Hazard, in his paper on the Soviet Union, has the arduous task of attaching meaning to the description of Russia as a democracy that rests upon proletarian dictatorship. The new and modern Turkey of Kemal Atatürk is reviewed by Thomas K. Ford, Japan and its dictatorial regime by Harold S. Quigley, and the variegated patterns of dictatorship in South America by J. Fred Rippey. Hans Kohn, in a brief summing-up of the years between democracy and fascism, strikes a note that frequently occurs in the book. "Ultimately the fate of democracy . . . will be decided in the international field" (p. 92).

The papers of the second group discuss different aspects of dictatorship and hinge around the means fascism has adopted in order to win power and consolidate its position. Peter H. Odegard analyzes the role of propaganda, which he sees as "the battle . . . between those who seek to perpetuate the existing forms of social organization, and those who seek to change them" (p. 232). "Propaganda in totalitarian states serves not only to ensure internal unity, it plays an increasingly important role in the conduct of foreign policy" (p. 266). Calvin B. Hoover dissects the economics of fascism and finds it is "in essence the system by which a depression-paralyzed economic body is made to function once more" (p. 217), by means of total preparation for total war. Sigmund Neumann, in an interesting paper entitled "The Political Lieutenants in Modern Dictatorship," takes up the problem of political succession in such societies, and Mildred Adams describes the position of women in Russia, Italy, Germany, and Turkey.

Only two papers and the editor's foreword touch upon problems of political theory. Denis W. Brogan, in an essay on the prospects of democracy, finds that "the chief danger run by democracies today is that they may suffer death by international violence" (p. 329). Max Lerner, in a stimulating discussion entitled "The Patterns of Dictatorship," seeks to show that "short of economic collapse or a catastrophic war, there is no reason to believe that these dictatorships will not endure on into the calculable future." "It is possible," he writes, "that responsible constitutional government under the conditions of industrialism demands too much both of the human brain and the human will," and "that democratic government has been able to survive as long as it has only because it has operated under the surplus of the period of an expanding capitalism" (pp. 19–20).

An appendix by Joseph R. Starr gives a chronology of dictatorships in post-war Europe since 1917. Surprisingly, there is no index. No definitions are given, and dictatorship, fascism, and totalitarianism are often used by some of the writers as interchangeable terms. Is it helpful to ignore the specific forms dictatorship has assumed at specific times, and to indicate, as the editor does, that dictatorship is really neither new nor novel? Is it merely that modern dictators have a new and powerful technique in mass control through propaganda? Or is Lerner correct in his diagnosis that democracy is doomed in a period of contracting capitalism? Even if the answers to these basic questions are not available, the book is a useful addition to the literature on dictatorships.

J. RUMNEY

University of Newark

Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life. By CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938. Pp. 353. \$3.00.

In these days when much of the world's history is being made in Berlin, all books about Nazi Germany deserve attention. But we put down most such books with some disgust because the authors have obviously written them with their glands rather than their brains. Not so Kirkpatrick, for his book is a model of tireless sifting of evidence, patient inquiry, testing of interpretations, and scientific detachment; and it shows to the highest degree the cardinal virtues of the scholar.

As the title indicates, Kirkpatrick directed his investigation at a significant problem; namely, the impact of Nazism upon family life and the status of women in Germany. We know that the exigencies of war and preparation for war force great dislocations of social institutions, but surprisingly little has been written on the subject. There are to date very few studies like the one under review, and if sociologists are to do their job there must be a

great many more.

Before taking up his special topic, the author deals with various interpretations of Nazism, passing in review the personalistic, psychoanalytic, cultural, and Marxian interpretations, and trying to find in each the grain of truth. Kirkpatrick's own interpretation is couched in sociological terms and is striking, original, and convincing; he regards Nazism as "an experiment in regression to tribal-group intimacy on a national scale by means of modern agencies of communication"; to this we must add, of course, the cultivation of crisis psychology and enemy morality. This formula makes intelligible a great many facets of Nazism and probably illuminates also some of the movements of public opinion in our own country.

The effects of Nazism upon women and family life are too far-reaching and contradictory to be summarized in a few sentences in a book review. According to Nazi ideology, women must reproduce; they must do womanly work; they must remain in the home. In postwar Germany, marriage was impossible for many women, and the birth rate fell sharply; there was the greatest moral confusion. The German people was sick. In various ways the Nazis have tried to promote marriage and to encourage reproduction,

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probably putting the second goal ahead of the first. In their marriage campaign and in the battle of the birth-rate, they have met with some early success, but it remains to be seen how permanent these results will be. The attempt to return women to womanly work was at no time successful. Some happiness and security, no doubt, women have gained from the Nazi experiment, but war and the fear of war probably more than counterbalance these gains. Although the book was written before the outbreak of the present hostilities, there is no evidence that the general outlines of the Nazi picture have been changed by the impact of actual war.

Although it is competently and interestingly written, and remarkably free of sociological jargon and dull technicalities, Nazi Germany will probably not be a very popular book. At this time people want books on this subject that will make them feel rather than books that will make them think, and Kirkpatrick does not cater to this appetite. But Nazi Germany will be a book to which scholars will resort again and again for the most reliable facts and the best interpretations of certain aspects of an important

human experiment.

WILLARD WALLER

Columbia University

Nationalism: A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xx+360. \$3.75.

Nationalism has been the predominant issue and the organizing principle of the 19th and 20th centuries. The Treaty of Versailles in its constructive parts was based upon the idea of national self-determination. The following twenty years of armistice represented the continuous crisis of nationalism which finally led to World War II. Whatever one may think of the final outcome of this second Thirty Years' War, in which the future of nationalism is as much at stake as religion was in the earlier one, "the nation is the political unit, and nationalism the group symbol, of the present stage of civilization."

Such a realization calls for a study of nationalism in the modern world, and if such a task is undertaken by the Royal Institute of International Affairs it guarantees the highest standards possible. The well proven method of study group reports which had already led to excellent publications, such as the reports on the Colonial Problem, on the British Empire, and on the Republics of South America, is again successfully applied. The result is a comprehensive and balanced study on the very complex phenomenon of modern nationalism. It analyzes this movement in its different historical contexts in Europe, America, and Asia, as well as in its various social, political, and economic implications. Special consideration is given to contemporary European nationalism, its underlying political theory, and the methods applied. The problem of the multi-national state and the sources of resistance to nationalist policy are also examined. Even an exhaustive catalogue could not describe the wealth of material, the mastery in presentation, and the hitherto unsurpassed standards for scholarly treatment of such a controversial topic.

The study is of special value for the sociologist, as the phenomenon of nationalism is treated here not as an isolated political and psychological phenomenon, but as "a special case of the more general and permanent problem of group integration." The influence of modern sociological investigation is visible on almost every page. (It may be remarked that Professor Morris Ginsberg was a member of the study group.) Of particular interest in this respect is the chapter on "The Attitudes of Various Sections of the Population toward the Nation." The excellent differentiation, for instance, between the intellectual, the bureaucrat, the commercial and industrial classes in their relation to nationalism is "sociology of knowledge" at its best. So also is the correlation of the different ways in which national states have arisen and the theories in regard to nationalism as advanced in the various countries. One may even go as far as to say that the main contribution of the study is its emphasis on the sociological aspects. The very definition of the nation as a community, and the differentiation between 19th and 20th century nationalism, center around the oft-neglected sociological approach. The very sober and temperate survey comes to the final conclusion that the differences between the more moderate and more aggressive types of nationalism as represented in the two centuries is not so much the result of a specific ideology of the state as of the different "gradations of national feeling," which in turn are the result of "the situation of the group" externally and internally. The same discriminate and realistic evaluation is made on other vital issues of modern nationalism, such as its bellicose character and the question of its possible intensification or diminution.

It is of course impossible to cover completely the many aspects of modern nationalism in such a limited study. Very often the book cannot give more than an outline of the problems concerned and suggestions for further intensified investigation. Yet even in this form it represents "must" reading for the student of modern nationalism.

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Wesleyan University

Wisdom in Conduct: An Introduction to Ethics. By Christopher Browne Garnett, Jr. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940. Pp. xv+458.

This book is designed primarily for laymen and introductory college courses. Garnett has a clear and felicitous style and a wide familiarity with the Great Names. There is an excellent index and good bibliography for each chapter. The volume is easy and interesting reading.

Wisdom in conduct is defined as "habitual application to conduct . . . of knowing, discriminating, and evaluating, and this over a full span of years" (p. 13). Four main schools of ethics are discussed: (1) Right Rules, typified by Kant, Buddha, and Plato; (2) The Good, Epicurus, Hobbes, and Bentham; (3) Inner Life, Lao-tze, Koheleth, and Tolstoi; (4) The Group, Hegel, Marx, Comte, and Jane Addams. Wisdom in conduct, which synthesizes these partial views, is represented by Confucius, Socrates, and

Aristotle. These views are presented historically and then applied to ethical problems which are classified as positive and negative, personal and groupal. In personal life, poverty, illness, failure, death, etc., are negative; play, education, marriage, friendship, etc., are positive. Negatively, there may be group poverty, illness, crime, warfare, etc., while government, industry,

press, radio, religion are positive.

One could easily quarrel with such a classification, but there would be no point to it. There may be some point, however, to stating his two basic contentions: (1) that conduct is bound up with persons; and (2) that persons are capable of an inner life (p. 19). All sociologists would agree with the first proposition, but most people would like some light on the second. Nowhere does he tell us clearly what this "inner life" consists of. He emphasizes that "group life is important, but not the sole locus of ethical value." Where is this locus then? He accuses Comte of ignoring the inner life, and thinks Comte regards society as an organism.

While it is never explicit, the reader feels that the author has not mastered the simple idea that *human* behavior is solely social, that there is no such thing as personality or "individual" except in this context. He still seems bothered by the outworn problem of "individual versus society."

He speaks about basic motives (p. 234) and basic attitudes (p. 240) without specifying what he means. "Some ends are rooted primarily in personal living"—but this is not explained. On p. 348, we learn that the "larger portion of feeblemindedness is due to heredity"—and the Jukes and Kallikaks

are the proof!

Finally, fictional characters are used to prove or illustrate many things—a dubious device always, and especially so in the field of ethics, which should strive to use the precise and chaste language of philosophy. Serious writers should leave figures of speech and communication by suggestion to poets, politicians, and publicists.

READ BAIN

Miami University

Family and Community in Ireland. By Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xxix+322. \$3.50.

This is a fascinating report by two cultural anthropologists on the social organization of the small farmers in County Clare, Ireland. An inquiry using available statistics established two distinct orientations to the soil: the small farmer dependent upon family labor; and the big farmer dependent upon hired labor. The economy of the small farms is described and related to that of the big farms and is followed by an analysis of family labor and intrafamily relations. Descriptive chapters summarize the observations of relationships between individuals and their communities under such chapter heads as: the relations of kindred, the kinship system, demography and familism, family transition at marriage, dispersal and emigration, the problem of the aged, the old in the community, familism and sex, occupation and status, and markets and the community.

Summarizing, the authors state, "The sociology of Irish rural life and small-farm subsistence is largely a matter of the anatomy of two institutions of characteristic form—the family and the rural community" (p. 311). Both institutions are interrelated in a master framework of relationships with five subsidiary systems: (1) the relationships of the familistic order; (2) the relationships of age grading, or generation; (3) the relationships of sex organization; (4) the relationships of local division of labor; and (5) the relationships of economic exchange and distribution in fairs and markets.

This book contains methodological ideas of particular value for rural sociologists, students of the modern community, and individuals interested in American subsistence farming programs. Arensberg and Kimball have made a valuable contribution to the growing number of descriptive con-

temporary community studies.

ROBERT A. POLSON

Cornell University

Denmark: A Social Laboratory. By Peter Manniche. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1939. Pp. 216. \$1.50.

The style employed in Manniche's monograph is quite reminiscent of religious periodicals of a generation ago. The work abounds with good "action" photographs, which depict the social life of contemporary (pre-Nazi) Denmark in a way in which the written word of the author fails to do.

The author, a folk school principal, describes Danish social life through four outstanding Danish social movements. The first is the independent farmer movement of the peasant class. This small-holder group (those having less than 37 acres of land each) represents more than one-half of the total rural population. The Folk High Schools are next in order of discussion. There is a detailed account of the rise of these schools under the leadership of Bishop Grundtvig, and of their expansion throughout the nation and into other Scandinavian countries.

Consumer cooperatives, community planning, public works, and social reform legislation are described in the last two divisions. With all of its social legislation, Denmark still has many unsolved problems akin to our own. "26.8 percent of organized workers were unemployed in 1939, not including those on relief . . . 125,000 youths were unemployed. . . . Denmark, like other countries, suffers hard from the scourge of unemployment. It has tried to remedy the evil by the very extensive unemployment insurance scheme, but benefits are no real solution of the problem."

GEORGE W. HILL

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University of Wisconsin

The Dutch. A Portrait Study of the People of Holland. By Adriaan J. Barnouw. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xi+297. \$3.00.

It is a tragic coincidence that Barnouw's stimulating work about "The Dutch" should appear at the moment when this nation lost her political independence, unable to resist the concentrated attack of the German army.

As the reconstruction of Europe after the last war was largely based upon the partly sociological idea that the nation as a unit of culture is a higher category than the state as a political unit, it will be of utmost importance to observe how the Dutch (who formed a separate cultural unit almost since the days of Tacitus although their political independence dates from the seventeenth century) will manage to preserve their integrity under a system which—in spite of the recent and older claims of Pan-Germanism—is definitely of an entirely different cultural and economic pattern. If one of the main conditions for an "ideal" community lies in its relative smallness and the close contact between its people, the Netherlands certainly possessed this foundation for a highly developed community on which they were able to erect a cultural structure of great colorfulness and high achievement.

Barnouw called his delightful work very adequately a "portrait" study of the Dutch: it does remind the reader of a Dutch painting with its love for detail and accuracy and yet remaining on the high level which other more photographic schools of painting have never been able to attain. The book is not strictly sociological in purpose or method; but as a study of a national group with special stress on cultural factors, it undoubtedly deserves the interest of the sociologist, who will find much of interest in this excellently and amusingly written book. The only chapter which perhaps could have been added to the study would be one on the Dutch as colonizers, for their exploits in this field have added the "heroic" touch, which is so much in demand nowadays, to their character.

BARTHOLOMEW LANDHEER

Library of Congress

Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society Series XXIII: The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction. By William Alexander Mabry. Durham: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. vii+87. \$1.00.

Relying largely upon manuscripts, newspapers, and legislative documents, Mabry traces the role of the Negro in North Carolina politics since Reconstruction. Although there are brief discussions of Negro political activity during the eras of slavery, Reconstruction and the New Deal, major attention is centered upon the period 1876 to 1900. The beginning of the period 1876–1900 marked the complete downfall of the Republican Party in North Carolina (except for a brief interval of recrudescence through fusion with the Populist Party from 1894 to 1898), and the end of the period saw the Negro disfranchised in the state. Chief emphasis is placed not upon the political activities of Negroes themselves, but rather upon the manner in which the presence of a large body of Negro voters in the eastern counties of the state affected the political activities of the whites.

In general, this is a sound but narrow historical document, valuable for its assembled facts, and weakest, perhaps, in those rare instances where the author resorts to interpretation. It is a doubtful generalization, for

example, that "the lot of the Negro in North Carolina is not necessarily

worse than if a higher percentage of Negroes voted" (p. 83).

The book is well written and well documented, indicating wide reading; the temper is usually quite dispassionate; an adequate bibliography is included at the end of the book, but there is no index.

PRESTON VALIEN

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Fisk University

Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History. By Guion Griffis Johnson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xv+935.

Mrs. Johnson has written an interesting and significant chapter in American social and cultural history in this vivid portrayal of the everyday life of the people of North Carolina from 1800 to 1860. A wealth of historical detail concerning persons and events is here so organized and interpreted that there emerges from the whole a picture of social situations, institutions, and traditions undergoing dynamic change, transforming an isolated colonial and frontier society into a self-conscious social and political entity.

During the Colonial and early national period especially, poor facilities of transportation and communication had confined the inhabitants closely to their local communities, which consequently became highly integrated primary groups. The absence of good harbors and navigable streams retarded the growth of population and commerce. The produce of the State was marketed in Virginia and South Carolina, and its young people were constantly seeking their fortunes on more promising frontiers, so that during the entire ante-bellum period the decadal increase in population averaged less than half that of the nation as a whole. The patterns of society were thus set more firmly in their parochial mould: illiterate, superstitious, intolerant, and resistant to change. The fierce individualism of the frontier saw in such methods of social reform as public schools, public health and sanitation, and care of the insane, the criminal, the defective, the poor and unfortunate, a fatal blow at the personal liberties of the people.

How such a society coalesced and learned to tax itself for education, health, public improvements, and social reform is the theme of this book. It is developed in such a manner as to reveal the basic patterns of personal and cultural behavior common to any people undergoing a similar transition. Upon competent and exhaustive research of this character the advancement

of our knowledge of the processes of social change will depend.

HOWARD E. JENSEN

Duke University

The Biography of a River Town. By GERALD M. CAPERS, JR. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. iv+292.

Tangier Island. By S. WARREN HALL. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939. Pp. iv+122.

The Biography of a River Town is an effort by a historian to produce a total-situation analysis of a large American city (Memphis) in 234 not-solarge pages. The myriad smaller tendencies and larger trends that occurred in the growth of the city are neatly interwoven with and shown to be part of the growth of the South and of the nation. Many of the desirable materials for making such a study were of course lost, but Capers searched far and wide for those that were available, as is shown in 42 pages of notes and bibliography. The book contains 8 maps and charts, 17 tables, 14 illustrations and a 12-page index, all of which help to make it interesting, compact, and usable. The analysis is based entirely upon published and written sources to be found in libraries, and treats the period from the earliest days of Mississippi valley exploration to the 1890's. The great influence of a few personalities in molding the life of the city is brought out vividly. Stopping at about the date at which *Middletown* started, perhaps the main contribution of this study for sociologists is that it constitutes a fine beginning, upon a basis of which they might build a study of contemporary Memphis emphasizing direct study of persons and other social phenomena.

Tangier Island is a participant-observer study, concluded in 1932, of a community of 1100 population on a small island in the middle of Chesapeake Bay. Hall claims no contribution in it, beyond that of adding an analysis of a decidedly unique small community to the accumulation of case studies of communities already made by social scientists. He has done a good job, especially in view of the facts that he was a stranger to the community, that he obviously tried to protect the townsfolk by not revealing too much, and that he presented his analysis in so short a space. Tangier community is highly integrated, strongly resistant to outside influences that conflict with fundamentalist Methodism, and woven around fishing, oystering, and

crabbing—primarily the latter.

ALBERT BLUMENTHAL

State Teachers' College Maryville, Missouri

Fijian Frontier. By LAURA THOMPSON. New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940. Pp. xxiii+153. \$2.00.

This book will be of more interest to the sociologist than the usual report of an anthropologist, for its emphasis is upon the relatively recent (1933-1934) condition of a Fijian people after a century of contact with Western civilization. As Thompson indicates, "the aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problem of colonial administration" (p. viii).

The basic conflict is in the clash of fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. The Fijian system was based upon the distribution of wealth, not its accumulation (p. 84); upon kinship or clan integration, not upon the present attempt to emphasize geographical regions (p. 61); upon rank, not upon personality by which one now acquires status (p. 70). In brief, the conflict is between the old communalism and a competitive individualistic system.

With the present British attitude toward native problems in these islands, the future appears promising. Even the recent world depression was a blessing in disguise. "The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining Western trade goods on which they had become dependent.... Involuntarily they regained most of their economic independence" (p. 93). "There is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji" (p. 79). This, then, is no depressing picture of a people hopelessly disintegrated by Western contact.

Within the short compass of her book, Miss Thompson succeeds admirably in her aim, but the specialist looking for a detailed acculturation study with significant generalizations about native-white contacts will be disappointed. This account is good, but brief, and not sufficiently analytical

in presentation.

For a short, exceptionally well-written, as well as authoritative account of a people in the throes of change, this book is to be recommended.

J. GILBERT MCALLISTER

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University of Texas

People: The Quantity and Quality of Population. By HENRY PRATT FAIR-CHILD. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1939. Pp. 315. \$3.00.

Population: A Problem for Democracy. By Gunnar Myrdal. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xiii+237. \$2.00.

Rural Migration and Social Welfare. By PHIL RYAN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940. Pp. 114. \$.50.

The Atlantic Migration. By MARCUS LEE HANSEN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xi+391. \$3.50.

The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples. By MARCUS LEE HANSEN. (Completed and prepared for publication by John Bartlett Brebner.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. xviii+274. \$3.00.

The five books considered here are indicative of the development of the field of population research from (a) that of the detailed analysis of vital rates (b) to an increasing emphasis on the social and economic aspects of these movements, and the implications of population dynamics and distribution for population policy. Fairchild's *People* is an interesting, skillful, and non-technical presentation of the broad outlines of the transition from the time when the specter of overpopulation dominated the thinking of students of the field to the present, when reproductive rates over wide areas are below the levels required for permanent replacement, although some groups still manifest an extraordinarily high fertility. Beginning with an analysis of theoretical possibilities of reproductivity in insects and man, he proceeds to a formulation of the changing factors in the man-environ-

¹ Hansen died before the work was completed and Brebner with commendable modesty brought it to completion and actually wrote a part of it, but the title page says, "By the late Marcus Leo Hansen," and lists Brebner as he is shown above.

ment ratio to a consideration of present population problems, and presents a brief for the free dissemination of contraceptive information.

Myrdal's Population: A Problem for Democracy outlines the Swedish experience in dealing with the problems created by the precipitate decline in fertility. He discusses the population problem "frankly as a political problem of social goals and planned political action," for he believes that the continued decline in fertility in Western society must sooner or later unleash an ideological crisis. The population question will come to dominate our whole economic and social policy. Following a brief analysis of the economic and social consequences of the declining rates of population growth, Myrdal outlines the basis for the Swedish population policy, which aims through broad economic, social, and educational measures to lessen the individual economic penalties of parenthood and to secure adequate voluntary reproduction within the framework of a democratic society.

Ryan's small volume is concerned primarily with the individual problems in the adjustment of population to resources by migration, especially the unguided migrations of the period since 1929 in the United States. His work is an outgrowth of the work of the Council of Interstate Migration, of which he was Secretary, but goes well beyond the problems of the care of the individual transient to a consideration of the relations of the problem cases to the whole of internal migration and the complex of factors to which

these migrations are related.

Hansen's two volumes lend the invaluable perspective of history to present acute migration problems. The Atlantic Migration is the story of the movements of whites from Europe to the United States from the early Colonial Period to the Civil War, written from the vantage point of Europe. It recounts the reasons why migrants left their home communities, the routes they followed, and the vicissitudes they encountered in going to America. The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples is the history of the integral development of the currents of international and internal migration that settled America north of the Rio Grande basically as one economic system. The historical currents of migration are traced as they were affected by local or regional economic, military, and other consideration in both Europe and America. The migrants were from all classes of society and came for many reasons. Propaganda, recruiting agents, mass contagion, facilitating or restricting legislation, all played their part, but basically the movement was one of the common man staking everything he had and risking great hardship to reach an almost unknown land where he believed economic and other opportunity still existed. Hansen views migration primarily as a process whereby a human atom wrenched itself from an old society and attached itself to the new. The description of the process is careful and detailed—readers familiar with sociological generalizations concerning migration will find these volumes full of illustrations, though the author does not attempt to show such relationships. The amassing of such data, however, is essential for sound generalizations.

CONRAD TAEUBER

Bureau of Agricultural Economics Washington, D. C. Hawaiian Mythology. By MARTHA WARREN BECKWITH. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. vii+575. \$5.00.

This volume should establish Dr. Beckwith for a larger reading public in a role long recognized by professionals; namely, as the preeminent folk-lorist in the Hawaiian field. Printed by the Yale Press for the Folklore Foundation of Vassar College, "Hawaiian Mythology" will prove of great value to ethnologists and folklorists. It should be welcomed by teachers, and should also attract the growing body of general readers of Hawaiian

and other Pacific Island literature.

The author has, since first publishing an English translation of "The Hawaiian Romance of Laiekawai by S. N. Haleole" (Bureau of American Ethnology, Report 33, pp. 285–666) in 1919, repeatedly unearthed previously untranslated materials buried in old manuscripts or print in Honolulu, and with the skill and discrimination of a trained folklorist has made these materials available to readers of English (Folktales from Hawaii, 1928; Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii, 1932; Legend of Kawelo and other Hawaiian Folktales, 1936; "Moolelo Hawaii of S. M. Kamakau," translation still in manuscript). The volume under review incorporates with what was previously known the new Hawaiian mythological materials contained in these works. And in addition, certain subjects are greatly enriched and clarified by new information derived from living informants, for Beckwith has been equally a pioneer in unearthing literary materials and discovering living sources of authentic knowledge.

The reviewer has no hesitation in saying that Beckwith's *Hawaiian Mythology* makes obsolete much of the existing literature on the subject, particularly the sections dealing with Hawaiian myths and deities in the

reviewer's Polynesian Religion (1923).

The first chapter briefly but ably gives the cultural and historical setting, while the body of the volume delineates in orderly sequence the lore and function of gods and spirits, of protohistoric and legendary demigods, of chiefs, and of heroes and lovers. Alternative versions are reviewed. Comparative ethnologists will welcome the inclusion of much Oceanic comparative material. It would be possible to criticize certain small errors relating to local natural history and ethnology: but these are not serious; and, after all, the folklorist cannot be expected to be infallible in all the sciences.

E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

Fairfax, Virginia

The Family and Its Social Functions. By Ernest R. Groves. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1940. Pp. xvi+631.

Sex in Marriage. By Ernest R. Groves and Gladys Hoagland Groves. Second ed. rev.; New York: Emerson Books, Inc. 1940. Pp. xi+250. \$2.00.

Altogether too often books and college courses on the family or marriage have been an ill-assorted mixture of anthropological facts, preaching titillation of the erotic, and episodic illustrations or so-called case materials. the Fan book fun at a protection the special and directors

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Seldom has there been a rigorous and consistent sociological treatment of the family as a social institution. This job Groves has accomplished. The Family and Its Social Functions is just what its title indicates. It is not a book of snappy stories nor of sexual guidance. It sustains throughout a high level of discussion of such topics as the nature of the family, its survival functions, its support of culture, government, education, and religion. Only at the very end does the author put on in any sense the mantle of the prophet, but even in his discussion of the future of the family he maintains the sociologist's role. In this book the sociologist and not the sexologist speaks. This reviewer is glad to see Groves make that distinction and differentiate the sociologist from sexologists such as Ellis, Hirschfeld, Robie, and Dickinson. Because of the nature of the family as a social institution, the work is strongly oriented in the direction of psychology, psychoanalysis, and mental hygiene. Indeed at times it tends to go a little too far in this direction, but always the course of the argument is pulled back by reference

to such sturdy sociological thinkers as Sumner or Ward.

For these reasons this book may be taken as an indispensable compendium of three decades of psycho-sociological study. Its author writes authoritatively and with felicity. The result is a book rich and mature in fact and comment. There are no world-spinning new ideas, but Groves makes a clear distinction between sex and hunger; he rejects any simple. exclusive, unitary motivation or drive for human conduct; he offers an excellent section on the family as a field for interaction; he defends the family against the charge that it is wholly responsible for personality maladjustments; he repeatedly eviscerates the Lindsey conception of companionate marriage; he agrees that there is some evidence, as Spencer forecast, on the reduced fertility resulting from civilization. As to the future of the family, he finds that it is by no means played out. On the contrary, the family furnishes the key to the future of civilization, not a perfect institution, but an institution as secure as the race itself. He does not expect anarchy in the future, but rather somewhat more in the way of economic security and companionship. He sees on the horizon the possibility of restrictive legislation limiting remarriage of habitual divorceés. Reno and Hollywood take notice! In the limitations of a brief review it is impossible to give detailed reasons for the reviewer's belief that the author stresses too much the distinction between sex and reproduction—that is, minimizes the obvious fact that the only genetic reason for sex at all is improved survival possibilities for offspring. In other words, sex is inescapably bound up with reproduction. To be sure, in the process of social evolution sex has taken on the other qualities and manifestations which make up the complex of family, affection, companionship, etc. In hunting for motivation, distinction should be made, not between sex and reproduction, but between the whole set of tropisms connected with contact pleasure on the one hand and bisexuality associated with reproduction on the other.

The reviewer would have been happy to say a word in commendation of the new edition of Sex in Marriage, but in all frankness there seems to be little excuse for a new edition of this work. It falls into the category of sexology. In the ten years since this work was originally issued other books in the field have given this bed-chamber information so much more specifically and directly on such subjects as preparing for marriage, sex equipment, the love art of husband and wife, and birth control, that Groves' handling of the problem seems not only faded and veiled, but even superfluous.

ARTHUR J. TODD

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Northwestern University

Social Legislation. By Helen I. Clarke. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. Pp. xv+655. \$4.50.

Although the term "social legislation" has been part of our verbal coin for several decades, Professor Clarke's book is the first effort toward a comprehensive treatment. A quarter of a century after Commons and Andrews staked out their claim to a large segment of the field with their book on labor legislation, and after many another monograph has preempted other segments, we are given a sizable volume which carefully surveys what seems to remain of social legislation. The gratitude owing to Miss Clarke must be tempered by regret that the field left for her to till is by no means so broad as many sociologists would like to consider the bounds of social legislation. It is a Rumania, shorn by aggressive neighbors.

After a brief introduction to legal backgrounds and methods, the author treats only three subjects extensively—the relations of husband and wife, of parent and child, and of dependency and the state. Miss Clarke calls these "selected subjects." For each of these topics, and their many subtopics, the author gives the historical background in which the legislation is rooted, summarizes the statutory and decisional law on the subject, and discusses the effects of such legal concepts upon social welfare. The result is a book, not intended for lawyers as such, which is well adapted to classroom use in the social sciences and social work. The intelligent layman who is not a specialist in the field would find the book both interesting and enlightening.

For more advanced students the book should be supplemented, as the author herself suggests, by the works of the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration. Of the Chicago series two collections of documents prepared by Miss Breckenridge cover the first of the subjects, on husband and wife; Miss Grace Abbott's on the child and the state covers the second; and Miss Edith Abbott's on public assistance, now being published, will cover the third. Advanced students will also want to consult more primary sources than Miss Clarke refers to in footnotes. Either from design or lack of complete library facilities, the author frequently refers to a summary compilation as her source of material, rather than referring to a more specific work by a recognized authority. Possibly this tendency is more apparent in connection with legal materials than with sociological, with which the author may be more familiar.

Miss Clarke has done a large job and has done it well. She has summarized

masses of material in an orderly and readable form—has, in fact, opened a new field for intermediate students. The book not only attains a high standard among sociological textbooks; it cuts a new cross-section through the curriculum in sociology.

GEOFFREY MAY

Social Security Board Washington, D. C.

- A Declaration of Interdependence. By H. A. Overstreet. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1937. Pp. xii+284.
- They Shall Not Want. By MAXINE DAVIS. New York: Macmillan & Company, 1937. Pp. 418. \$2.50.
- A Foreigner Looks at the TVA. By ODETTE KEUN. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1937. Pp. 89. \$1.25.
- The Indiana Poor Law: Its Development and Administration With Special Reference to the Provision of State Care for the Sick Poor. By ALICE SHAFER, MARY WYSOR KEFFER, and SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. Social Service Monographs No. 28. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. x+378, \$3.00.
- The Administration of Old Age Assistance in Three States. By ROBERT T. LANSDALE and Associates. Chicago: Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council, 1936. Pp. 78.
- Toward Social Security: An Explanation of the Social Security Act and a Survey of the Larger Issues. By Eveline M. Burns. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936. Pp. xiii+269. \$2.00.
- Social Security by Common Law. By HENRY E. JACKSON. New York: The Social Engineering Institute, 1936. Pp. xiv+183. \$2.00.
- Old Age and the Social Security Act. By Thomas L. Norton. New York: Foster and Stewart, 1937. Pp. 116. \$1.00.
- The Townsend Crusade: An Impartial Review of the Townsend Movement and the Probable Effects of the Townsend Plan. New York: The Committee on Old Age Security of the Twentieth Century Fund, 1936. Pp. 91. \$.50.
- Slums and Slummers: A Sociological Treatise on the Housing Problem. By C. R. A. MARTIN. London: John Bale Sons, and Danielson, 1935. Pp. v+185. 6s.
- Sickness and Insurance: A Study of the Sickness Problem and Health Insurance. By HARRY ALVIN MILLIS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. 166. \$2.00.
- Rain on the Just. By KATHLEEN MOREHOUSE. New York: Lee Furman, Inc., 1935. Pp. 319. \$2.50.
- The Negro in the Philadelphia Press. By George Eaton Simpson. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936. Pp. xix+158. \$2.00.

Essays in Social Economics: In Honor of Jessica Blanche Peixotto. With a Foreword by Wesley C. Mitchell and a Biographical Sketch by Henry Rand Hatfield. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 363.

Reorganization of Social Economy. By Oswald von Nall-Brouning. New York: Bruce Publishing Company, 1936. Pp. ix+451. \$3.50.

The Family Encounters the Depression. By ROBERT COOLEY ANGELL. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. Pp. 309.

The Role of Politics in Social Change. By CHARLES E. MERRIAM. New York: New York University Press, 1936. Pp. 149.

The seventeen titles treated in this review may be classified for con-

venience of discussion into three groups.

I. Popular, impressionistic studies of the contemporary social scene. Such books, to be judged fairly, must be evaluated from the standpoint of what the authors have set out to accomplish. H. A. Overstreet has himself stated his purpose in the Foreword to his Declaration of Interdependence. "This book represents an attempt to see our present social problems in the larger setting of American history and to discover what there is in our experience as a people that points the way to the next step, and the next. It is averse to black-white thinking. In a world of conflicting values and halftruths, it doubts the power of a clear-cut system to achieve any uncontested solution save that of dictatorship. And it stands firm on the American belief that no dictatorship provides a solution that is worth having. The book, in short, is an attempt to write a social philosophy from a present-day American point of view." As such, the book is a success. The body of the work is devoted to a discussion of the conceptual framework within which our capitalistic democracy must proceed to mediate social change, and the objectives it must seek to attain if it is to avoid both dictatorship and chaos. Although one may regret that Overstreet has done little to suggest just how his social ideals are to be implemented, he has at least indicated for the man on the street the kind of intellectual orientation of American public opinion within which alone the democratic idea can be realized.

In They Shall Not Want, a woman journalist presents a spirited description and analysis of the relief policies and measures pursued in the United States during the period of the depression. She openly disclaims having anything to say of importance to the scholar and specialist and addresses herself to the citizen and taxpayer. Miss Davis is a first-rate reporter. Her graphic portrayal of the inadequacy of our emergency relief measures and her clarity of thought in formulating and presenting a permanent and continuing program give this book notable distinction in its field. Such a program, she believes, must center in a system of employment exchanges better equipped from the standpoint of vocational guidance and training than that of Great Britain, supplemented by unemployment insurance, and a carefully planned system of public works similar to that of Sweden. These are necessary as continuing measures to meet the constant readjustments inevitable in a technologically advancing culture, but they must be reinforced by a system of cash relief for times of national emergency rather than by futile

and expensive "made work."

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In A Foreigner Looks at the TVA, Mme. Keun, a Frenchwoman, describes one of the most interesting and significant social experiments now being carried on within the framework of modern capitalism. She compares it "in spirit and technique, though not in range, to the admirable performance of the Scandinavian nations, the best any democracy has hitherto produced." Though she frankly assumes the role of a passionate advocate, she does so with a commendable fidelity to the facts, together with a quality of insight into the local social situation which is rare in the itinerant foreign journalist. With a European's love of the land, she looks with horror upon the American's "villainous . . . commercialism, and exploitation, forests destroyed, mines disemboweled, lands dwindled away." She hopes, however, that the extension to other regions of the sort of social experimentation now going on in the Valley may not only establish a saner relationship of man to land, but that it may give to the American democracy "a weightier and sturdier content and stiffen its defenses against its enemies" so that "when an assault comes from the Right or the Left, democracy will be in a position

victoriously to resist the blow."

II. Social security. Unfortunately, the contemporary view that poverty, old age, unemployment, sickness, accident, disability, and similar misfortunes to the citizen are a direct responsibility of government has had to emerge within a tradition engendered by the English and Colonial Poor Laws, according to which all such persons were considered as "wretched and proper objects of public charity." Consequently, American public policy in this field still wavers between public charity as a concession and social security as a right, a confusion which the mingling of insurance, quasiinsurance, and relief measures in the Federal Social Security Act has done little to remove. How this tradition has evolved within the various states is being treated in a series of Social Service Monographs, already six in number, of which The Indiana Poor Law is one of the most important. For this state has had unusually distinguished leadership in public social work, her Board of State Charities having provided the National Conference of Charities and Corrections with six of its presidents between 1891 and 1916. How the Poor Law was broadened out to include special state provision for the sick poor is treated in this volume. Its evolution into a series of old-age assistance laws which had already been enacted by ten states and one territory before the depression forms the background of the study of the administration of these laws in three states by Lansdale and his associates. The states chosen for analysis are Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, which the authors think have attained a position of leadership in service to their dependent agent, and "have set an example to the rest of the country of substantial and forward looking administration."

Mrs. Burns' book gives an analysis of the provisions of the Federal Social Security Act, and a penetrating discussion for the non-specialist of the economic, political, sociological, and administrative issues to which it has given rise. Together with H. P. Douglas' more technical Social Security in the United States (vide this Review, June, 1936) it provides the indispensable basis of fact and theory for an intelligent discussion of the Federal statute. These two volumes will make clear what the limitations of the Act really

are, why no Act significantly different could have been passed at the time, and along what lines the Act must be revised and extended if it is to attain

in practice the goal for which it was designed in theory.

Tackson's Social Security by Common Law stands in marked contrast to these two competent volumes. He claims to face the facts in the "spirit of the engineer," and to construct a substitute act which shall avoid all the difficulties of the statute now in force. If so, a few pages selected anywhere at random will serve to disclose the ineptitude of the engineering mind when confronted with the complex realities of economics and politics! Norton's work, on the contrary, is a carefully detailed criticism of the oldage provisions of the statute, projected as a part of a more comprehensive work, but published separately in order "to be of service to those who are concerned with the problem of the Act's revision." The author believes that the duty of "studying and making recommendations as to the most effective methods of providing economic security through social insurance," which the Act imposes upon the Social Security Board, is not enough. The problem is important enough to justify "an independent, special government commission . . . required to report at a stipulated date," similar in composition and powers to the Immigration, Monetary, and Industrial Commissions.

The information compacted into the brief pages of The Townsend Crusade should be valuable for social guidance for years to come. For old-age security in the United States is a continuing problem for the future. The percentage of persons over sixty-five in the total population has doubled during the past seventy years, and bids fair to more than double in the next seven decades. The Social Security Act fails to cover nearly half of the working population, and many years must elapse before anything approaching adequate retirement allowances will be available to the most fortunate of those covered, while they will continue to be inadequate for the masses of the lower-paid and less skilled industrial workers. These and other facts will furnish the political background for similar crusades in the future. It is, therefore, more than timely to have at hand this impartial and restrained study of the current economic fallacies in which such movements deal, and the disastrous results which they entail. For this reason alone, the study merits the widest possible reading by all citizens over thirty-five. But of still greater value as a safeguard against the future recurrence of such panaceas will be the revision of existing legislation in the direction of increasingly adequate provisions for old-age, both as to extent of coverage and size of grant.

Decent housing for low-paid workers is one phase of social security for which we have as yet done little. The experience of recent years demonstrates that nothing short of extensive subsidies from either private or public sources can suffice to meet this growing need. Martin's Slums and Slummers is useful for its portrayal of the practical difficulties which governmental rehousing projects have encountered in England. It is a human document based on the experiences of the Chief Sanitary Inspector of Whitstable, "seen and heard over a period of many years in passing in and out of the homes of the poor." Martin is none too optimistic about the

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possibility of rehabilitating slum people through housing, or by any other means, but one regrets his lack of sympathetic imagination concerning a

new generation with personalities unwarped by slum experience.

Finally, Millis points out that contrary to European precedent, which gave health insurance an early emphasis in the program of social legislation, and in spite of American experience that, save for unemployment, sickness is the largest problem in this field, this measure has as yet not been included in our legislative program of social security. But Millis would have the United States depart from European patterns in certain respects; especially would he carefully limit the organizations to be recognized as insurance carriers, change the share of medical persons and institutions in control of the system from a position of dominance to one of adequacy, and divorce medical care from cash benefits in cases of illness. He would provide the latter by means of an amendment to the Social Security Act, and the former he would limit to the high-cost illnesses of low-income receivers, financed partly by compulsory insurance contributions, and partly by tax revenue. Millis' book is a model of clear exposition of technical and statisti-

cal matter.

III. Works of more specifically sociological interest. In Rain on the Just, Mrs. Morehouse has presented in fictional form materials rich in interest to the student of regional and folk sociology. The scene is laid among the foothills of North Carolina's Blue Ridge Mountains. She knows the traditions and customs of the mountain folk through long residence, and has gained accurate knowledge of their daily activities and sympathetic insight into their interests and attitudes through intimate association as friend and neighbor. Her portrayal of this background is always authentic and often vivid, but unfortunately the book will not be as well received by the literary as by the sociological critic, for as a novel it lacks distinction. Least Dolly Allen, the heroine of the piece, is a self-reliant young girl who displays the fierce family loyalty common to the mountaineers, but neither she nor any of the principal characters of the story rise above the conventional type to take on the distinct and vital individuality as characteristic of superior craftsmanship as it is of the mountain people themselves.

In The Negro in the Philadelphia Press, Simpson has sampled four Philadelphia newspapers, at five-year intervals from 1908 to 1932, to determine changes in the treatment of the Negro in the news. In spite of over one hundred eighty-five percent increase in the Negro population, the column inches of Negro news shows an absolute decrease, such items appear less frequently on the front page, and Negro terms receive less emphasis in the headlines. Nevertheless, the items published give an impression distinctly unfavorable to the Negro race. These data are interpreted as indicating that "the most common attitude in Philadelphia is one of indifference to Negroes unless a Negro commits an especially 'bad' crime, or interferes in some way with the white man's peace of mind."

Essays in Social Economics defies summarization. It contains essays by fifteen authors, ranging from psychiatry to national planning, and from infant mortality to old-age security, most of them written with consider-

able depth of insight, and all with the purpose of utilizing the results of science in the service of humanity. This range, method, and purpose make the volume a fitting tribute to Miss Peixotto, whose intellectual vigor and human sympathy have stimulated her colleagues and students to explore the field of social welfare in all the directions indicated by this volume, and more. A biography of Miss Peixotto is included as an introduction, and a

bibliography of her writings as an appendix.

Reorganization of Society is a comprehensive exposition of contemporary Catholic social philosophy as embodied in the papal encyclicals Rerum Novarum of Leo XIII and Quadragesimo Anno of Pius XI. The author traces the historical relation between the ideas contained in the two encyclicals on reconstructing the social order in the form of a commentary, based upon the latter text. His method is that of developing the logical implications of the papal concepts. His book is thoroughly scholastic in method but is valuable as an authoritative statement of the official Catholic position upon such questions as individualism, liberalism, communism, socialism, trade-unionism, economic domination, and the reorganization of industrial society.

Lay readers of Angell's volume will be interested in the dramatic encounters with economic disaster of the fifty familes whose cases are recorded in the body of the text. But sociologists will be chiefly concerned with the last forty-two pages which are devoted to an "Appendix on Method." For the author is less concerned with family problems than with trying out certain notions about social research. He is dissatisfied with the atomistic and elementalistic implications of the usual statistical analyses, and endeavors to develop a method of analytic induction which will preserve the "wholeness" of his cases. He freely recognizes that he has not reached his goal, but he can justly claim to have laid "a modest foundation stone for others to build upon" and he makes it easier for others to do so by the frank way in which he indicates the futility and disappointment of much of his

own groping effort. At the end of this list the reader may turn with gratitude to the matured social wisdom of Charles E. Merriam. His Role of Politics in Social Change is an acute analysis of the meaning of the political in human affairs. Social thought since Marx has passed through "a long period of over-emphasis on the economic aspects of life, an exaggeration beyond all reason of one phase of human experience—a barrier to an adequate understanding of economic forces in relation to social forces, serving to relegate the political to the limbo of the necessary evil." Hence, the most popular recent schools of thought, radical and conservative alike, have joined hands in decrying government and boycotting the state. Anarchists have directed their efforts toward its complete destruction, collectivists have developed a curious hybrid of anti-statism in theory and pan-governmentalism in practice, while individualists have sought to narrow government to the smallest possible range, and confine it to the negative role of a policeman. But Merriam endeavors to put politics in its place as a control function in society, developing parallel to, and sometimes working at cross purposes with, other

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control devices like the family, the church, the economic organization. All are rooted in social tradition, and all are constantly changing their extent and intent with the alternating tensions and tempos which are of the essence of social life. The state is a permanent constituent element of social organization, "an over-all frame-work of social control," which must at the same time "recognize and protect value-systems other than political, within the framework of political association," and seek to "coordinate national and local policies, public, quasi-public, and private plans, instead of allowing them to drift apart and pull against each other." The book is an incisive defense of the democratic process in which he finds no grounds for the belief "that America stands at the broken end of a worn-out way."

HOWARD E. JENSEN

Duke University

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work; Selected Papers, Sixty-sixth Annual Conference, Buffalo, New York, June 18-24, 1939. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xi+655. \$3.00.

Here is a description and evaluation of what is happening in the social services and in the theory behind them. From literally hundreds of Conference papers the editorial committee, headed by Russell Kurtz of the Russell Sage Foundation, has selected sixty-six on the basis of "timeliness, significance to large groups of practitioners, freshness of presentation, and

permanent usefulness for reference purposes."

The change from seriatim to topical arrangement, under four main heads, is an improvement over previous volumes. "Social Work and the Spirit of America" puts some questions about democracy and its meaning for the individual and the social structure, and answers some of them. "Current Sectors of Social Action" deals with health, youth, employment and security, industrial standards and relations, dynamics of interstate migration, and housing. "Fields of Social Practice" offers seven papers on social case work, three on social group work, and others in the special fields of children, the aged, the mentally sick, the blind, and unmarried parenthood. Finally, "Settings of Social Work" considers the State and its counties, the community, and the arena of government. Appendices present the complete Conference program and the Conference organization. An index of authors provides a useful "who's who," and there is a general index. This volume maintains its recent predecessors' standards of readability in typography and style.

That the present volume is wellnigh indispensable for courses in social pathology and principles of social work is a truism. The section on the State and its counties, presenting child welfare "as is" in rural settings, might be a useful reminder in courses on urbanism or introductory sociology of life beyond rapid transit. As the three articles of greatest value to sociologists the writer would vote for "The Field of Community Organization" by Robert P. Lane, Director of the Welfare Council of New York City (pp. 495-511); "The Factual Basis of Community Planning" by Stuart A. Rice,

Chairman of the United States Central Statistical Board (pp. 512-521); and "Some Fundamental Accounting Concepts in Social Welfare" by Anne E. Geddes and Joel Gordon of the Social Security Board (pp. 568-577). "Internal Migration: Asset or Liability?" by John N. Webb, Chief of the Urban Surveys Section of the Research Division, Works Progress Administration, also deserves mention.

DAVID K. BRUNER

Northwestern University

The Ohio-Mississippi Valley Flood Disaster of 1937: Report of Relief Operations of the American Red Cross. A. R. C. 977. Washington, D. C. 1938. Pp. 252. Free.

This is the absorbing story of the gigantic effort under Red Cross leadership to cope with the greatest flood in our history—to rescue and to restore.

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In view of the density of population of much of the area, it is amazing that only 137 lives were lost and 544 other persons injured. This record is a high tribute to the efficiency of the Red Cross and the excellent cooperation of Army, Navy, Coast Guard, W.P.A., C.C.C., U. S. Public Health

Service, and other participating agencies.

The narrative is extensively illustrated with photographs and pictorial charts. Supporting data, classified by States and counties, are carried in the appendices.

LEONARD F. REQUA, JR.

State Department of Social Welfare Albany, New York

The College Professor in America: An Analysis of Articles Published in the General Magazines, 1890-1938. By CLAUDE C. BOWMAN. Harrisburg: Central Publishing House, 1938. Pp. 196. \$1.50.

A Study of Those Who Influence and of Those Who Are Influenced in Discussion. By RAY H. SIMPSON. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938. Pp. 89. \$1.60.

The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy. By WILLARD S. ELSBREE. New York: American Book Company, 1939. Pp. ix+566. \$2.75.

Redirecting Teacher Education. By Goodwin Watson, Donald P. Cottrell, and Esther M. Lloyd-Jones. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938. Pp. x+105. \$1.35.

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The Failing Student: A Study of Academic Failure and the Implication for Education. By Kenneth L. Heaton and Vivian Weedon. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. x+286. \$2.50.

Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth, A National Responsibility. By NEWTON EDWARDS. Washington: American Council on Education, 1939. Pp. x+189. \$2.00.

The Future of the Liberal College. By Norman Foerster. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938. Pp. x+103. \$1.25.

In the space at his disposal, the reviewer can do little more than indicate the scope, content, and possible sociological appeal of each of the books under review. The books by Bowman and Simpson are probably of more immediate interest to sociologists than others of the group. Bowman's work, a doctor's thesis, is a study of attitudes toward college professors as revealed by the popular magazines. There is a considerable literature of this sort, and it appears that most of it is either sharply critical or decidedly laudatory in tone. Oddly enough, professors are apparently more critical of professors than are non-academic writers. There has been much discussion of academic freedom, but it has been confined for the most part to

liberal magazines of small circulation.

Simpson's book is a lengthy report on an ingenious series of experiments designed to discover the relation of certain personality characteristics to the process of discussion. There were no significant relationships between ability to influence others in discussion and scores on the Otis Test of Mental Ability or the Multi-Mental test, and none between this ability and scores on the Bernreuter instrument, which presumably tests emotional stability, self-sufficiency, introversion-extroversion, and dominance. There was, however, a significant relationship between ability to influence and scholastic marks and also the Scholastic Test for Verbal Ability. Radicals are apparently quite successful in influencing others. Religious background is also important; Jewish students were successful in influencing others, Protestants came next, and Catholics were last. As is usual in such reports of carefully controlled experiments, some of the most interesting portions of the book consist of obiter dicta which are not directly related to the experimental procedure. Unlike many of our psychological brethren, Simpson has a vivid realization of the complexity and subtlety of social interaction.

The evolution of the teaching profession in America, as told by Elsbree, is a fascinating story. Elsbree has selected his materials carefully and interpreted them well. The reviewer intends no criticism of Elsbree's work by insisting that a sociological approach to the subject could make these materials mean a great deal more than they do. Redirecting Teacher Education is an outgrowth of a study of the program of Teachers College of Columbia University. It is well thought out and courageous, but is not of immediate interest to most sociologists. The Failing Student is a report of a study made in four Michigan colleges as a means to institutional improvement. Its chief implications are in the field of guidance, but it has real value for all college teachers. Equal Opportunity for Youth is useful for the large

amount of factual material which it contains. The Future of the Liberal College is another book about colleges. The author is obviously talented and literate, but his work lacks unity, coherence, and emphasis, and suffers from the fact that it was originally a series of separate articles and addresses.

WILLARD WALLER

Columbia University

The University outside Europe: Essays on the Development of University Institutions in Fourteen Countries. Ed. by Edward Bradby. London: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. vii+332. \$3.50.

This little supplement to Kotschnig's The University in a Changing World (1932) might better have been entitled "The European University outside Europe," although its omission of South and Central American institutions would belie even that title. As it stands, the book presents magazine-length accounts of the history, constitution, aims, and "problems" of European-fathered centers of higher education in the United States (78 pages), Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India, China, Japan, the Dutch East Indies, the Arab-Moslem world, Turkey, Iran, and Palestine.

For the sociologist the main interest in these all too historical-journalistic accounts perhaps lies in the tracing out of the lines of diffusion by which Western European scientific culture, now, it may be, dying at its core, has pierced its way into the heart of such ancient traditionalistic cultures as the Hindu, Chinese, Moslem, and Hebrew. Many of the universities described in this book are the spearheads of this movement, at once nationalistic and imperialistic. To cite a remark made by Josef Goebbels in another connection, they "provide the intellectual substructure for political power." In view of the present centrifugal tendency of European civilization, however, the white man's burden may become the white man's boon. The universities "outside Europe" may soon be the only universities "Europe" has.

E. Y. HARTSHORNE

Harvard University

Elements of Rural Sociology. By Newell LeRoy Sims. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1940. Pp. xiii +690. \$3.75.

Professor Sims has labored diligently to bring this work up to date—first published in 1928 and again in 1934. He has certainly not allowed much material to flow over his desk without noting it and keeping it in mind for the present work. In this latest revision he adheres to his original thesis that sociology is the study of group life and that group processes in rural society are the most easily discernible in the development of communities and their social problems. With this frame of reference posited in Part I, the author embarks in Part II into a description of community-village life in various countries, concluding with recently developed American planned communities. This structural plan of rural society is followed by a discussion of the people, their characteristics and resources. A detailed

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institutional discussion consumes thirteen chapters in Part V. A recapitulation of the socio-cultural processes is attempted in the concluding section.

The book suffers from the ailment that is common to all revisions. Revisions seem to demand allegiance to the old, even though much of the old cannot be revised and could more profitably be forgotten. Two revisions within twelve years indicate the difficulties which rural sociologists are having in their attempts to write lasting textbooks that are based on the passing externals of rural life. There is a distinct need for a text that is not outmoded with a new census, new political party, or strange alphabetical conjury—all of which seem to come with more certain predictability than the erstwhile agricultural seasons.

Sims says the data are not yet available for such a work in rural sociology. Perhaps if the rural sociologist will get rid of his ahistoricism, give up the enumerating of more data in favor of some reflective thinking, the present data would suggest a *theory* of rural sociology.

GEORGE W. HILL

University of Wisconsin

Stage Fright and What to Do about It. By Dwight Everett Watkins and Harrison M. Karr. Boston: Expression Co., 1940. Pp. 110. \$1.50.

Instead of the usual platitudinous, incomplete, relatively meaningless presentation of this age-old problem, the authors have touched on all the current scientific and philosophic interpretations in the three divisions of the book—Symptoms, Causes, and Remedies. The book is designed for the performer—singer, speaker, actor, etc.—who must gain control of his fear. The style is humorous and informal. Vivid word-pictures and clever analogies lighten the complexity of both the problem itself and the difficulties of its exposition. In fact, the greatest value of the book seems to be in the excellent mental hygiene or therapeutic technique of presenting these phases in the revealing light of humor. Forty-three pen and ink drawings by Zadie Harvey add to the spirit and interpretations of the text. Two reprinted technical diagrams—one of the C.N.S. and the other of the A.N.S.—accompany simple explanations of the parts the nerves and glands play in fear. Five photographs accompany "comforting" testimonials which indicate that even the great feel stage fright.

WILLIAM B. McCOARD

Cleveland College, Western Reserve University

Ballot Analysis and Ballot Changes Since 1930: A Survey of State Laws Regarding the Various Types of Ballot in Use Throughout the Country. By Spencer D. Albright. Chicago: The Council of State Governments, 1940. Pp. 35 (mimeo).

This is a comprehensive survey of the forms and types of ballots and methods of voting in vogue up to 1939. The main changes in the decade were the Arkansas duplicate ballot law (1935), the consolidated office-group primary ballot in Washington, the growth of the use of voting machines, the

presidential short ballot, and the wider use of the direct primary. Three states still do not use the entire Australian secret ballot system.

The Changing Front of Health. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1940. Pp. 104.

Summaries by four speakers of the papers given at the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Fund, dealing with Housing, Nutrition and Public Health, Medical Appraisal of the State of Nutrition, and Population Trends and Programs of Social Welfare. It also contains the speeches at the annual dinner. Many of the original papers have been or will be published in the Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly.

Government Spending and Economic Expansion. By ARTHUR E. BURNS and DONALD S. WATSON. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940. Pp. vi+176. Paper, \$2.00; cloth, \$2.50.

Under the four general headings, Recovery and Spending, Growth of Spending Policy, Issues in Spending, and The Outlook, the authors review the depression spending, chiefly of the Federal government, which is charged with 65 of the 150 billions spent. Several interesting conclusions emerge: (1) spending began too late; (2) not enough was spent; (3) the spending was aimed at shifting—and conflicting—objectives; (4) it was uncertain and on an "emergency" basis; (5) the analogy between public and private debt is fallacious; (6) a balanced budget is impossible and undesirable under present conditions; (7) spending is initiative and enterprise.

The book has little interest for sociologists as such, but should have a great deal of interest for all intelligent citizens. It should be read by all economists—and doubtless will make some of them fume; it should be read

by all so-called statesmen-it may make some of them think.

Virginia's Social Awakening. By ARTHUR W. JAMES. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1939. Pp. xi+178. \$3.00.

This book combines in one small volume the stirring story of the life and work of another great Virginian, the Rev. Mr. Joseph T. Mastin, D.D., and an authentic history of the beginnings of one of the country's most out-

standing Departments of Public Welfare.

Mr. James is especially well qualified to write on both of these subjects, since he served for several years as the assistant to the Rev. Mr. Mastin, who was personally responsible for the first organized movement to deal more adequately with crime and relief in Virginia. More recently Mr. James was Commissioner of Public Welfare in Virginia, and is now Technical Assistant to the Chief of Probation and Parole, U. S. Bureau of Prisons.

Mr. James has told in an interesting and authentic way of the conditions which existed in the jails and almshouses of Virginia when through the efforts of Dr. Mastin the State Board of Charities and Corrections was organized in 1908. This book is a valuable record of Virginia's social awakening, and a fitting tribute to a great man who devoted his life to public service.

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